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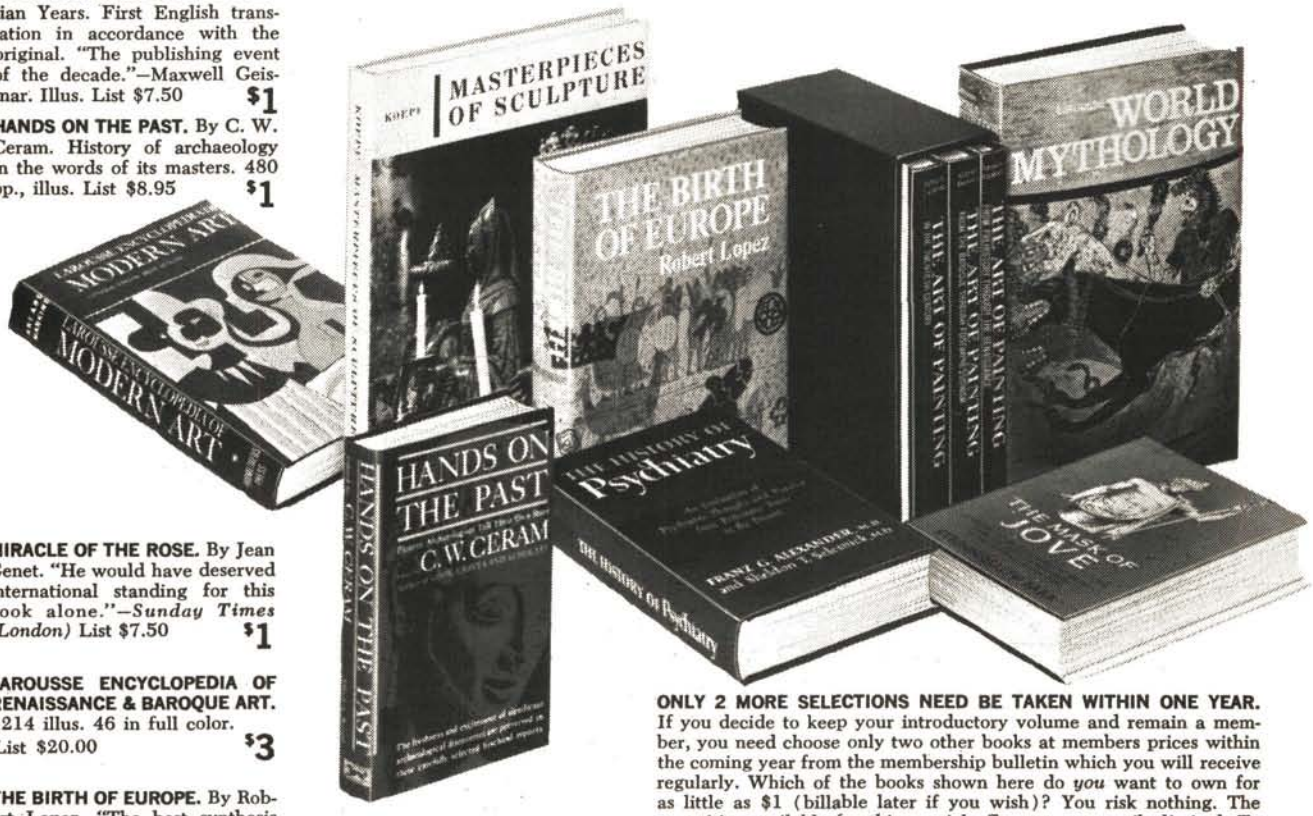

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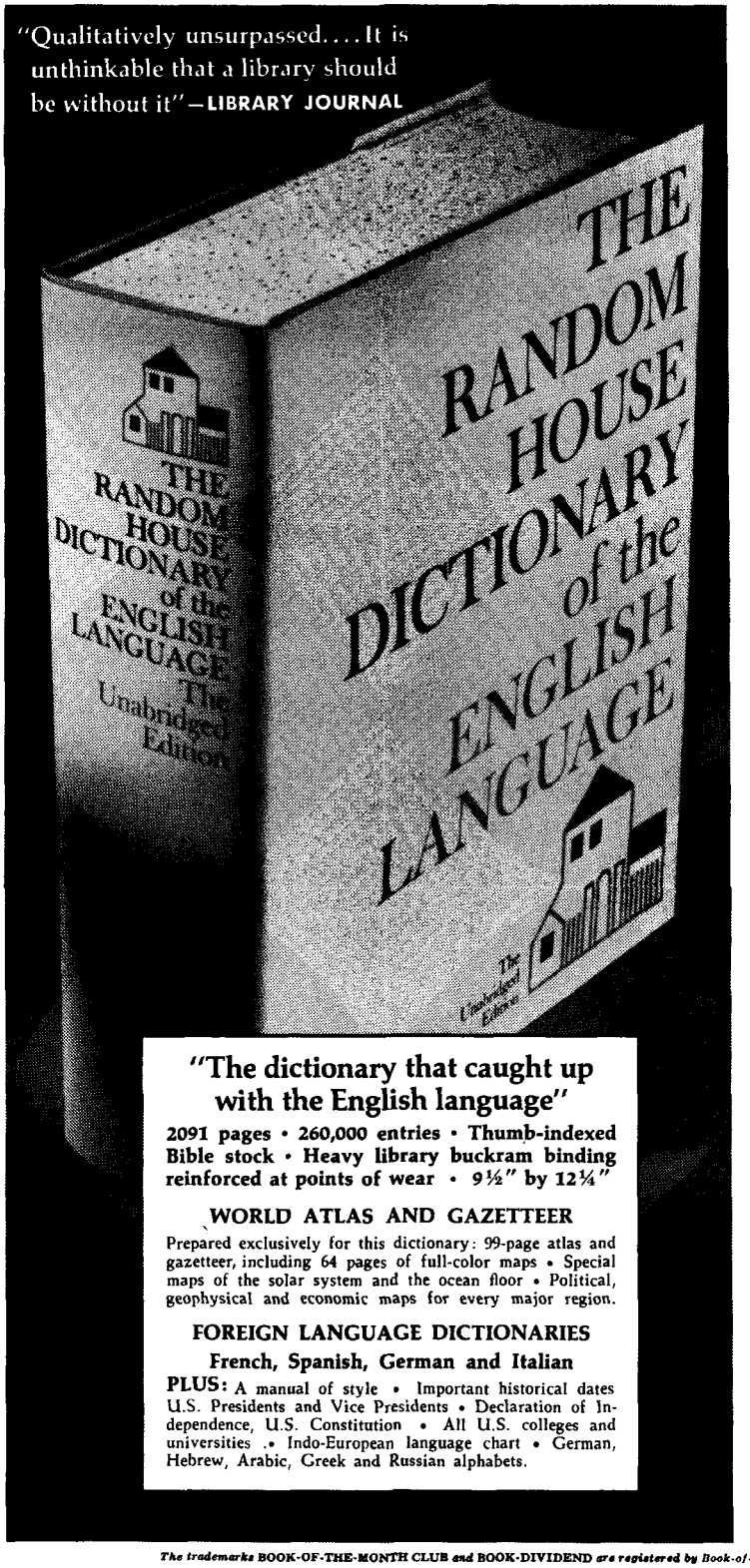
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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Hard to Believe

★ Last week Mr. Johnson set out to tell us why we are in Vietnam. He has reason to tell us because his popularity has dropped to 45 percent, and his score on handling the war to 37 percent. (On the other hand, the tortured US public supports bombing 67 percent, and General Westmoreland will likely get more power to push the war.)

We do not want permanent bases in Vietnam, says Mr. Johnson. So that's out. (We hear grunts from the Pentagon, but never mind.) We are not there to prevent South Vietnam going communist. ("We do not seek to impose our political beliefs upon South Vietnam," says the President categorically.) Can we believe that? Perhaps, by an effort of will, though Mr. Johnson bluntly takes it for granted that a "free" Vietnam will vote democratic.

He tells us that the Saigon Constituent Assembly "will bring the Republic of Vietnam to full membership among the democratic nations of the world." Can we believe that? We can try, we can try. But even as he spoke the Associated Press reported that the Saigon military junta was serving what sounded like an ultimatum on the Assembly. Maybe Mr. Johnson can straighten this out with General Ky on Guam, or Ellsworth Bunker who replaces Lodge as ambassador in Saigon can reconcile the junta and the civilian politicians. Democracy in Vietnam – ? Improbable, but not impossible.

What *are* we there for, then? Mr. Johnson tells us. It is terribly simple. It is to give "a concrete demonstration that aggression across international frontiers is no longer an acceptable means of political change."

If that's so, then the US has become a world policeman. But let us be fair; the State Department hates the taunt of global cop; nothing irritates it more. So let us go back to the speech. Mr. Johnson localizes it a bit; it's not global, it's just Asia. He tells us America discovered that "the defense of Vietnam held the key to the political and economic future of free Asia." He added that if we "were prepared to stay the course in Vietnam, we could help to lay the cornerstone for a diverse and independent Asia. . . ."

It is this that is terribly hard to believe. Asia, even without China, is so big! And we are going to make the Asians free, and independent, and diverse. Why, we haven't even been able to end poverty at home.

Maybe Mr. Johnson's new effort will persuade the people. But we have a simpler explanation of it all. We got sucked into a quagmire and we have sunk in deeper and deeper. We don't know how to get out. It is now a matter of pride ("national honor" if you want to call it that). The public loathes the war as LBJ's 37-percent war-handling score shows. But it hates to lose face, too (the 67 percent who favor bombing). Of one thing we have little doubt. If the mess isn't settled by 1968, the voters will be ravening for a scapegoat. And we know his name.

Compassion Pays

★ A rather poignant statistic struck us the other day in testimony by Detroit's Mayor Cavanagh in behalf of the poverty program. Juvenile crime rates, he said, have dropped as much as 30 percent in Detroit areas where summer recreation programs were in effect. We remember that the Chicago racial riots last July were triggered by shutting off a fire hydrant where slum kids were bathing in 98 degree heat: two killed, scores wounded, almost 400 arrested. It is such good business, sometimes, to be compassionate. Mayor Cavanagh was full of statistics; here's one: the Detroit adult and youth employment project cost $788,000, he said, and aided 1,417 people. These people, once jobless, now earn $4 million a year in wages, and pay $650,000 a year in taxes.

Congress is waiting with knives for Mr. Johnson's trimmed poverty program. Senator Dirksen led a successful floor fight last year to cut back poverty funds. The conservatives are all set again this year. This is one of the things we find hardest of all to understand in Washington. Did you realize, for example, that in 1950 only five nations had lower infant mortality than we did but that in 1960 we were behind 10 countries and that now there are 13 ahead of us? We are getting richer and we are falling behind.

These countries ahead of us nearly all have national health plans. By contrast in the US 65 percent of children from low-income families have never seen a dentist.

We don't see any way out of this but federal intervention. The US isn't training enough nurses, graduating enough doctors or building enough hospitals. Prices are soaring. For example, a spokesman for the American Hospital Association here said that cost of hospital care is expected to average $57.93 a day by September, and to "level off at $75 in three to five years."

TV and Oligopoly

★ Economist John Blair of the Senate monopoly subcommittee thinks the advent of TV advertising is accelerating the rate of concentration in US industry. The big companies can afford the cost of the TV and get bigger, and the little ones can't, and drop out. He has arresting charts showing growth of concentration by "top four" leaders in consumer industries and their TV expenditures. America's 200 largest manufacturers in 1947 grabbed 30 percent of all the enormous products, based on census "value added" charts; in 1954 37 percent of the total; in 1963 (latest) 41 percent. In another 10 years the top 200, representing only one-tenth of one percent of all manufacturers and three percent of all the plants, will produce as much as all the rest together.

Well, let's end on a happier note. Sen. Smathers (D, Fla.) has a perfectly swell bill in the hopper. He would get uniform Monday observance of five holidays: Memorial Day, Independence Day, Washington's Birthday, Veterans Day, and Thanksgiving. Five regular three-day weekends a year. Nicest thought we have had for years.

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Pipers and Payers

In *The New Republic* of September 15, 1958, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. asked: "What leadership can we expect from Tom Dodd with his purple rhetoric about 'liberation' and his ambiguous relations with the teamsters?" What we could not have expected was Mr. Dodd's leading performance as a money-raiser. All sorts of friends helped – from Lyndon Johnson to the lowliest who worked on commission and never inquired where the money they raised went. (The senator's 1958 campaign manager explained that he was one of those persons who "don't poke their noses into that part of the senator's business into which they're not asked to poke.") Mr. Dodd contends that a substantial part of the almost $400,000 collected from 1961 to 1965 was a non-taxable personal gift, not a political contribution. It has yet to be shown how many, if any, of the donors anticipated that $9,479 of their cash would go into "certain improvements" on Dodd's Connecticut home. A 1954 Internal Revenue ruling states: "Any amount diverted from the channel of campaign activities and used by a candidate . . . for personal use constitutes taxable income. . . ." The ruling is quite specific: "For example, a candidate seeking political office receives contributions totaling $1,000 from individuals and organizations for use in his campaign for election to such office. During the campaign the candidate expends $600 of the contributed funds for campaign purposes. He uses the balance of the campaign funds to reduce the mortgage on his personal residence. In such a case the candidate will be required to include in his taxable income the $400 which represents the portion of the fund which he diverted to personal use."

Dodd's integrity and the legality of his conduct are now under investigation by his colleagues. The longer-range, more important question is how politics is to be financed.

Eleven years ago, following a detailed study, Senators Gore and Mansfield concluded that, "the existence . . . of federal laws, the object of which is to curb spending in political campaigns but which failed miserably to do so, can serve only to demoralize the political climate and breed contempt for existing laws." The other day Rep. John Moss warned that unless some effective curbs are devised, "all the offices of our government will be up for auction." The relevant laws are absurd, and because they are absurd, they are honored in the breach. According to the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, as amended in 1947, no corporation or labor organization may make any contribution to

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any campaign for federal office. Any who do so "shall be fined not more than $5,000; and every officer or director of any corporation, or any officer of any labor organization, who consents to any contribution or expenditure . . . in violation of this section shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both." That prohibition did not inhibit the International Latex Corporation from charging off its $8,000 gift to Senator Dodd as an "industrial relations expense." Nor does it prevent "individual" contributions by corporate officers, who are reimbursed through company bonuses or padded expense accounts. Labor organizations help their candidates by means of donations solicited by the union and by a variety of "educational" programs. There is no limit on the amount that can be given, only how it is raised and disbursed.

The law says that no one person may contribute more than $5,000 in any calendar year to political campaigning. ("The professional big givers," Walter Pincus has noted, "make it $3,000 and avoid filing a gift tax report.") That limitation, too, Gore and Mansfield said, is practically "meaningless." In 1956, members of 12 selected families gave over $1 million to the Republicans; the officials of the largest 225 corporations donated $1.8 million to the same party; and labor groups through one channel or another passed along over $1 million to the Democrats.

Candidates are supposed to report all campaign expenses, but many congressional candidates report spending nothing, maintaining that the committees set up to help elect them operate without their "knowledge and consent." There has never been a prosecution for failure to report campaign costs.

Likewise, the law which forbids political committees of the major parties from raising and spending more than $3 million each year is ludicrous, bearing no relation to the financial realities of politics in the 60's. Mayor John Lindsay's campaign in New York City, for instance, is said to have cost in the neighborhood of $2.5 million. Senator Charles Percy's office reports that his fight to unseat Paul Douglas last year cost about $1 million – and we can take it as given that this is an understatement. One congressman who has been in the House for 18 years acknowledges that his *primary* campaign in 1966 used up nearly $100,000.

Since the government – national, state, and local – is the nation's single biggest purchaser, a very large number of individuals and enterprises – from defense suppliers to builders, highwaymen and textbook publishers – find it worth their while to sweeten up the legislators, especially congressmen on such key committees as Finance or Commerce. The basic problem this raises, and one which Congress hates to talk about, is how the public is to be protected against "bought" legislators, and how the legislators are to be protected against pressures imposed on them by the high costs of campaigning? It will not be solved by requiring politicians to take a Boy Scout oath. The solution lies in a more rigid, independent scrutiny and disclosure of amounts spent in campaigns. Detecting incoming money and its source is very difficult. It is less difficult to detect amounts that go out, that are spent. A reasonable ceiling should be imposed on the aggregate outlay by any candidate in any campaign. At the same time, the proliferation of special fund-raising campaign committees should be curtailed. In addition, full disclosure of personal incomes of members of Congress would be reassuring. The invasion of privacy involved would be more than counterbalanced by the defense that disclosure would give the public against manipulation of public trust for private gain.

Finally, since so large a part of campaign costs goes for radio and television, Congress should require local stations, and in the case of national campaigns the networks, to allocate time for political broadcasting – free. In the 1962 midterm elections, almost $20 million was spent on campaign time. The British Broadcasting Company gives us a precedent: All parties can be heard without charge, so long as they meet certain minimum standards (as defined by presence on the ballot, number of petitions or percentages of votes cast in previous elections). Local stations and the networks have made fortunes from public franchises; they should be made to return some of this in the form of free time for political debate in election years.

It's Official

The President officially bid farewell to the original poverty program by asking Congress last week to tie local community action programs to city hall. To be effective, Mr. Johnson said, "it is essential that they [local agencies] be nonpartisan and totally disengaged from any partisan political activity," which is another way of saying this Administration won't tolerate "maximum participation of the poor." This is nothing new. The deal to deal out the anti-poverty war was made last year between Johnson and Adam Clayton Powell at the White House. There it was agreed to let Congressman Sam Gibbons (D, Fla.) do in community action. That was the beginning of the end.

But the poverty war is still a good public relations gimmick, and the President's latest proposal would turn the whole program into a handy patronage device for the coming election. The Democrats still control many of the big cities whose mayors will now be free to return to olden times, giving the poor handouts for their votes. What began as a serious attempt at fundamental change has degenerated into a joke.

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Hospital Segregation

The Riverside Hospital of Newport News, Va., is a modern installation with 323 beds. It was built with the aid of $2,250,000 in federal funds, contributed under the Hill-Burton Act. For this reason, and for purposes of eligibility to receive other federal funds, as under Medicare, Riverside Hospital is subject to the non-discrimination requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It may not discriminate in admitting doctors to its staff; it must assign patients without regard to race, maintaining no segregated wings and no segregated multi-bed rooms. Under guidelines issued by HEW, Riverside may "routinely take into consideration such factors as medical condition, room rates, and age in the assignment of rooms." But routine procedures must "apply to both white and Negro patients."

HEW certified the Riverside Hospital as being in compliance with Title VI, and thus eligible to participate in the Medicare program, though at the time it had not a single Negro physician on its staff. (There are 18 Negro physicians in Newport News). Two who applied were rejected. One of them, Dr. George C. Cypress, is a pediatrician. There are 6 white pediatricians in Newport News, all on the staff. The other Negro who applied, Dr. C. Waldo Scott, is a surgeon. Of the 18 white surgeons in Newport News, 17 were on the staff. Negro patients – treated by white doctors – are admitted, but the hospital administrator himself testified in court that "we do not put Negro and white patients in the same room." It might be done on the pediatrics floor, but only after "I personally consulted with the parents of the two children and determined that I was not going to have any conflict."

Riverside Hospital is thus clearly not in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Nor, as the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit held in a landmark decision on March 9, is it in compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution. Marking the importance of the case, the Court of Appeals acted as a whole. All seven judges concurred in the holding of Judge Simon E. Sobeloff that Dr. Cypress, the pediatrician who had brought the suit, and who had been shown at the trial to be fully qualified, and other Negro doctors similarly situated, must be admitted to the staff. The court also held – on this issue, over a single, partial dissent – that while assignments of patients to rooms "may be made with due regard to sex, age, type of illness, or other *relevant* factors," racial distinctions in assignments are impermissible.

The decision points up the relative ineffectiveness of the administration of Title VI. "The staff and resources" of HEW's Office of Equal Health Opportunity "are so limited," said the court, "that inspections are primarily in response to complaints." Complaints are not easily forthcoming, and they cannot be expeditiously dealt with. "It is common knowledge," the court continued, "that certification [by HEW] of eligibility for [federal] benefits affords no assurance of actual compliance. Even when persistent violations have been discovered by the department, sanctions have not been imposed, and so violations of constitutional rights often continue unabated." This is the actual situation, despite HEW's action in refusing Medicare accreditation to several dozen Southern hospitals, and despite the commencement of formal proceedings against 17 of these, with a view, eventually, to cutting them off from access to all federal funds.

The Fourth Circuit Court's decision is also a judicial response to a congressional move during the backlash rage that briefly gripped Washington last fall. In September 1966, as noted in these pages ("White Wednesday," *NR* October 8, 1966), the Senate amended the HEW appropriation bill so as to authorize doctors and hospital administrators to assign patients to segregated quarters virtually at will, and to prevent HEW from cutting off funds on this account. Although passed in the Senate, the amendment did not become law. Senators Hill of Alabama and Stennis of Mississippi agreed to strike it out in conference with the House, upon receiving written assurance from HEW Secretary Gardner that the department would disregard – in effect, permit – assignment of patients to segregated rooms for "valid medical reasons." The judgment as to the validity of the reasons, the Secretary promised, would be up to a patient's doctor or the hospital administrator. But if it should appear that under guise of such judgments a hospital was practicing segregation as a matter of policy, the Secretary reserved freedom of action.

The Fourth Circuit Court's opinion does not in so many words say that this agreement, or the abortive Senate amendment on which it is modeled, is altogether unconstitutional. But it is interesting that Judge Albert V. Bryan, dissenting in part on this point, urged

COMING: *David Sanford takes a calm look at the marijuana scare on the campuses*

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the court to incorporate in its opinion precisely the substance of Secretary Gardner's assurance, as a qualification on the court's holding that only "*relevant*" considerations may be given effect in the assignment of patients to rooms, and that such assignments may not be based on racial distinctions. The court refused so to qualify its holding. Hopefully, therefore, Secretary Gardner will conclude that the court's decision lets him off the hook, and that the agreement he entered into last fall with Senators Hill and Stennis no longer binds him. After all, what then seemed a merely regressive policy turns out now to be very possibly unconstitutional as a whole.

Still de Gaulle

All French public opinion polls and most of the serious journalists proved wrong. They prophesied that de Gaulle would emerge from the second round of the March parliamentary elections with a large majority. He came through with a majority of one, but with the aid of a few independent deputies of the center and the right, the Gaullists should be able to have their way on important matters. The outcome is no comfort to anti-Gaullists in Washington. For if many Frenchmen voted against the General, it was not because of his foreign policy, which is not expected to change. Its main characteristics will be even more pronounced – opposition to US intervention in Vietnam, elimination of US influence from Western Europe, and the building of bridges toward the East.

Where change may come is in the economic and social field. There is a France which has never been more prosperous and efficient, but there is also a France that is poor, neglected and underpopulated. The biggest failure of the last nine years under de Gaulle has been the government's failure to narrow this gap. The electoral gains of the Left-wing Federation and Communists may move the General to devote more attention to these problems and less to "grandeur."

Reform at home, however, would require far-reaching changes in the government which well-informed sources do not anticipate immediately. De Gaulle initially will be reluctant to admit that because some of his ministers fell short of a few hundred votes in their election bid, they have lost his confidence. But it is reported that in the autumn, Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville may have to leave the Quai D'Orsay. Had he been reelected, it is thought that he would have been the candidate to replace the Premier, Georges Pompidou. But the new Pompidou, who won his electoral fight handsomely, now emerges clearly as the heir apparent. That, however, is very distant music. De Gaulle is still France.

Who's Against Pollution?

The renaissance of interest in electric cars could mean that within a few years inexpensive, compact, battery-powered commuter vehicles will be on the streets. Modest functioning prototypes already exist. In England 40,000 electric trucks are now in use. All that is necessary is a commitment by the automobile industry to produce them and promote them and a push by the federal government. Neither is likely. The new Department of Transportation, which is supposed to care about traffic congestion and air pollution, isn't much interested. HEW and the Department of Commerce, which are against pollution in principle, can't or won't do what is necessary to get rid of it.

If they caught on, electric cars could end the predominant cause of filthy city air – exhaust from automobiles. Cars now account for about 75 million of the 130 million tons of garbage in the air each year, and by 1980 there will be twice as many automobiles on the roads. Many experts say that even stricter federal standards and improved exhaust control systems will not be able to reduce pollutants from internal-combustion engines to satisfactory levels.

Electric cars could be made for as little as a thousand dollars, operate at half the cost of conventional autos, and run noiselessly. They would be not much good for long trips; most of those developed so far can go only about 40 miles per hour and their batteries must be recharged after 30 or 40 driving miles. But in an age of two-car families they would be just the thing for city driving, where the average trip is a few miles.

Advocates of electric cars admit that, were it not for air pollution, interest in them would be nil. Detroit does not think that people are sufficiently interested in making pollution a personal fight to buy electrics in sufficient numbers to justify developing and testing prototypes, retooling plants, creating public demand with advertising, or, in short, taking any risks. It took more than a decade, and federal legislation to persuade the auto makers to develop devices to reduce pollutants in the exhaust of standard, internal-combustion engine cars. It will take more than an appeal to conscience to get the big companies to market electrics. But since prospects for perfecting exhaust control systems are dim, electric cars or some other alternative must be developed or the day may come when cities will have to ban automobiles from their streets. Peel Engineering, a British firm, plans to put out a tiny electric called the Trident late this year for about $990. It might find a market in the US and speed Detroit's research, begun in the first place only out of fear the electric companies would go into the car business.

Senators Edmund Muskie (D, Maine) and Warren Magnuson (D, Wash.) have bills which would author-

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ize between $3.5 and $5 million in federal money next year to develop a practical prototype vehicle run by electricity. Last week they held joint hearings of the Commerce Committee and pollution subcommittee to drum up interest. Ten functioning automobiles paraded from Washington's Massachusetts Avenue to the Capitol and were demonstrated in the Senate's garage.

The Battronic Truck Corporation brought an electric truck which is commercially available and which, the company says, is cheaper to operate and keep up than comparable gas trucks. The Yardney Electric Corporation showed off its battery powered Renault. GM had a converted Corvair (Electrovair). And John Hoke, a Washington scientist, brought the little King Midget be bought and converted to electric power for $1,200. He's driven his car nearly 1,800 miles.

The mini auto show attracted a lot of curious senators. Magnuson and Muskie posed at the wheel of each car and rode around the streets outside the new Senate building on little electric scooters which had been brought down to show the existing commercial uses of battery-powered vehicles.

Alan S. Boyd, the new Secretary of Transportation, was the first to testify at Tuesday's hearing. He thinks pollution is bad, but electric cars, he said, "are ideas for the future. The technological problems involved are as enormous as the social, political and economic changes they imply." He is opposed to federal aid in developing a prototype and feels that "research on electric vehicles is first and foremost the responsibility of private industry." He might have added that without federal action, private industry will be slow to move. "There are times," Boyd said, "when the federal government should participate with industry in the development of new transportation systems," but this isn't one of them.

Dean W. Coston, a deputy undersecretary of HEW, wants no federal prod either. HEW has appointed a special panel to look into electric cars and is negotiating a $75,000 study contract with the research firm Arthur D. Little; he favors putting off development.

The most telling statement was made by J. Herbert Hollomon, acting undersecretary of commerce, who wants to defer to Detroit. "The automobile," he stated, "contributes directly or indirectly to a substantial portion of our Gross National Product. It is a significant item in our trade relations with the rest of the free world. It involves a large segment of the work force and is a major factor in the production of some of our largest industries. . . . In assessing any action to be taken, we must fully perceive these relations, and be aware of the social and economic impact of proposed solutions. . . ." If the choice is between Detroit's buck and clean air, the Administration is for pollution.

David Sanford

The Divisive Forces in Post-Election India

Bombay

Although there have been other elections in this most populous democracy, the fullest play of political forces was not possible under a monolithic Congress Party; democracy was reduced to a five yearly exercise in casting votes with predictable results. The system remained moribund and if the recent elections have yielded anything specific, apart from shattering the greater part of the Congress Party ego, it is surely an activation of the system that has never been permitted in the past. In theory this is perhaps an occasion for rejoicing since a system becomes meaningful only in the degree that it realizes itself fully. In practice, there is ample reason for a considerably more sober assessment of India's future.

At the moment there is a sense of political euphoria, partly because the electorate, to its own amazement, has realized what it is capable of doing and partly because the frustrations that were building up in the months before the election have been, in some degree, dissipated by the simple act of placing bits of paper in a vast number of ballot boxes. If the election had not been available precisely at this time as a safety valve, the Congress Party administration would probably have had a serious situation on its hands, with dissatisfaction feeding on rising prices, scarcity of essential commodities, increasing cynicism and an ineffective leadership. The agitation over cow slaughter, and widespread student unrest, were symptoms of disaffection that was rapidly – in a country of hitherto patient and long-suffering people – nearing the breaking point. The trouncing the Congress Party has received has given the people a sense of achievement, reconfirmed by the electoral collapse of such Congress stalwarts as S. K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh, Congress Party president Kamaraj himself and several ministers. The success of the DMK in Madras, of the United Front in Kerala and of the 13-party opposition in West Bengal, not to mention a significant increase in the number of "independents" (largely rebel Congress Party members), is itself substantial evidence of new "forces" in the transformed Indian political scene.

Yet what precisely do these "forces" add up to in an election that was not so much a vote for anyone as a vote against the Congress leadership? The Swatantra Party as the largest group after the Congress Party has 43 seats in parliament, the Jan Sangh 35, the DMK 25, and the Samyukta Socialists 23. Independents number 45 in a parliament where none of these groups qualifies as a party, the minimum requirement being a total of

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50 seats. After considerable maneuvering, Mrs. Gandhi remains as prime minister. The Congress Party with approximately 278 seats in a House requiring 261 for an absolute majority has retained power at the center where, however, a strengthened opposition will speak more confidently. In the previous session, the Congress government with a larger majority than it will now have was often hard pressed by an opposition that was beginning to specialize in exposés rather than in presenting alternative policies.

All the elements for a wide variety of parliamentary maneuvering are therefore present. The divisive forces – a weak leadership, factionalism, increasing regionalism, a shift of authority from the central government to the states – have been reinforced. The Congress Party will be in opposition in Kerala, Madras, Orissa and West Bengal; "President's rule," administration of states by the central government, may not be avoidable in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, as well as in Rajasthan. Even the most incurable optimist cannot say that the possibility of coordination and of effective all-India policies is bright.

On the contrary the climate cannot be more auspicious for a strengthening of regional feeling, for an intensification of interstate disputes (which Congress governments have been singularly unable to resolve in the past), for a consolidation of vested interests in the states by playing on communal and caste loyalties, and for a near-disastrous erosion of power at the center. The evolution of an education policy that stresses Indian-ness rather than regionalism, and of an economic policy linked to national rather than state interests has been obstructed by an inability to persuade the states – even under the Congress regime – to cooperate. Both the communists in Kerala and the DMR in Madras have called for an increase in the powers of the states – a process that will almost certainly accelerate.

Perhaps nothing illustrates the Congress dilemma better than the ambivalence toward Mr. Morarji Desai. He has been given the post of deputy prime minister, but grudgingly and because Mrs. Gandhi had no real choice. His colleagues fear that here is a leader who knows his own mind, right or wrong, and has the determination to try to impose it, whatever the consequences to himself or his party. No chief minister in any state is inclined to take a kindly view of a man who will most certainly halt or reverse – if he can – the present trend toward a concentration of more power in the states and who will not hesitate to exploit for this purpose every weapon or advantage the constitution gives the central government.

It is premature to assume that the elections are a prelude to the breakup of the powerful body of regional "bosses" whose combined weight has so far been a decisive factor in the formulation of party policies and in the distribution of offices. Nevertheless the setback its members have suffered in the election will strengthen the movement in support of a "strong" man, *i.e.* Mr. Morarji Desai whose stock is likely to improve as his party's overall position is progressively weakened.

All that Mrs. Gandhi's supporters could adduce in her favor was the unconvincing claim that the Congress Party emerged as the majority party in half the states and in the center under her "leadership."

In this obsession with individuals and personalities, and the factions with which they are associated, there can be no identifiable post-election trend that can be described in terms of policy. The opposition and many of the coalition governments that will take over in some states cannot be labeled conveniently as "leftist" or "rightist." The Congress Party is likely to relapse into a disarray far more acute than it has experienced so far. The case for or against a "right" or "left" policy becomes hopelessly academic when what is required is an effective all-Indian policy with some possibility of being implemented. Similar obscurity will descend, if it has not done so already, on India's foreign policy. No minister since Prime Minister Shastri died in January 1966 has attempted to define it in terms of the international situation as it is, not as it was in Mr. Nehru's day. It is impossible to believe that New Delhi will be able to assert itself effectively abroad beyond proclaiming rather tediously, as Mrs. Gandhi has done again, that it intends to remain "nonaligned" while refraining from any clarification of what this nonalignment amounts to. Events in Southeast Asia, in the communist world, in the Asian bloc, have left India far behind. The general trend since Mr. Nehru's death has been to ignore foreign policy. Mrs. Gandhi's visit to Washington and her pathetic attempts to resolve the Vietnam problem were really, as they turned out, an aspect of this indifference. It is unlikely that the new government will be capable, in its sadly weakened state, of recognizing foreign policy as something more than soliciting foreign aid. An intensified preoccupation with the balance of power within the country, and an equally intensified competition for it will be paralleled by an increasing dependence on foreign aid in circumstances where the climate for it is less promising than ever before. This is the dilemma from which India must escape, but as of now it does not seem to be recognized, nor does it seem possible that the election results will provide the basis for strong, enlightened, united leadership. Meanwhile all we have is the spectacle of a democratic system that is beginning to destroy itself by successfully responding to the frustrations it has created.

N. J. NANPORIA

MR. NANPORIA *is editor of* The Times of India.

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A Program for Overcoming the Handicap of Dialect

There are no statistics on how many Americans are denied employment or promotion because of their dialect, but it is scarcely stretching matters to say millions. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, there are 108,000 American Indians for whom English is a second language. New York City schools have a Spanish-speaking population of 800,000. Texas educates approximately half a million Spanish-speaking children. There are communities in Maine where 90 percent of the students are French-speaking. The school system in Dade County, Florida, where many of 300,000 former Cubans live, has become bilingual.

Native-born Negroes, either from urban ghettos or southern rural areas, have the most conspicuous problems. In the restrained phrase of one professional in linguistics, they are often denied employment "because of speech patterns which disqualify them or awaken negative stereotypes in the minds of listeners."

The Book of Judges relates how the men of Gilead trapped suspected enemies by asking them to speak one word: "And when any of the fugitives of Ephraim said, 'Let me go over', the men of Gilead said to him, 'Are you an Ephraimite?' When he said, 'No', they said to him, 'Then say Shibboleth,' and he said 'Sibboleth', for he could not pronounce it right; then they seized him and slew him at the fords of the Jordan. And there fell at that time 42,000 of the Ephraimites."

We don't kill people for having unacceptable accents; we just don't hire them.

Belatedly, the federal government is taking an interest. In a virtually unnoticed bill enacted during the closing days of the 89th Congress, the Department of Labor was authorized to refer persons for instruction in "communications skills." The language deliberately was left vague. No mention was made of any minority, thereby avoiding the hostility of Dixie lawmakers and the even more explosive resentment of Negroes to an implied slur on their speech habits. The measure was authored in the House by Reps. Phillip Burton of California, whose district in San Francisco includes Hunters Point and Fillmore areas, both heavily populated by Negroes. And the chief witness at hearings on the amendment was Professor Charles J. Hurst Jr., head of Howard University's speech department.

As described by Dr. Hurst, a Negro traveling from one city to another never really escapes the environment breeding his in-group dialect. The ghetto of New York is much like that of Chicago or Los Angeles, and he is not apt to tarry long in white communities in between. Although the speech handicap is most evident among uneducated adults and high-school dropouts, a surprisingly large number of students at the college level continues to have trouble communicating. Howard University, for example, is teaching "standard English" to 800 students, but many freshmen will never graduate, and one reason is simply a lack of skill in communicating.

Even those with degrees are penalized by their dialect. They may be well-trained but end up taking jobs for which they actually are overeducated. (So many go into the federal postal system.) Others who graduate from institutions with low standards, according to Dr. Hurst, go into teaching – where they perpetuate the problem by providing poor speech models.

Specialists in linguistics once thought it would be best to try to rid the Negro of his dialect altogether – the solution of Professor Higgins in Shaw's *Pygmalion*. But this approach quickly ran into trouble. Negroes who spoke formal English among their friends and relatives at home were considered to be putting on airs; others resented the slur on their speech habits.

The result was a decision to teach standard English as a second language, to be used when needed. First, Professor Hurst tried the tapes that were used to instruct foreign students in English, but that experiment flopped. Negro students were bored; it all seemed patronizing and unreal. Then Professor Hurst created a whole new set of tapes, complete with jazz background and "cool talk," but with translations into standard English.

Out of the Negro ghetto has come a vocabulary so inventive but also so esoteric that outsiders and even some older middle-class Negroes are lost. More than 600 modern Negro slang terms have been identified by Mr. Hurst. These are skillfully woven into a standard English instruction program of tapes and manuals, titled "Higher Horizons," that he has published for use in schools and colleges with large Negro enrollments.

Television and the late show have made their contribution to confusion: to "bogart a jam" is to crash a party, and Dudley Do Right is the nickname for a policeman. Other expressions are code to be used in the presence of the enemy. Sometimes the phrases convey the reverse of what they mean. "It's a bad dobb" means it's a good hat. When a girl is referred to as a phat (pronounced fat) babe, it's a compliment.

Howard University has put thousands of dollars into video tape equipment, so that a speaker can watch himself performing and can improve not only his accent but his posture and gestures. Instructors introduce a good deal of role-playing and show examples of good and poor job interviews. They play live tapes of politicians, radio announcers and physicians to demonstrate other varieties of in-group talk that deviate from standard English. A visit to Howard is instructive.

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Students in one recent classroom lecture I attended were well-dressed in that casual style of jackets and loafers found on campuses. Mr. Hurst began by explaining the need for "a language bag big enough for what's needed on certain occasions." He cited Air Force research on intelligibility in pilot-to-tower conversations during World War II when misunderstandings were costing lives. A group of girls discussed Operation Head Start. The criticisms afterward strayed into such matters as "too many hand gestures" and "lack of enthusiasm," but a couple of students zeroed in on pronunciation and "lack of voice projection."

The class then adjourned to the language laboratory where students sat with headsets over their ears, listening to tapes and repeating phrases into microphones. A typical tape was titled "The Missing 'Have' and Other Helpers." It provided drills in auxiliary verbs, since these are often dropped in speech by low-income, poorly educated Negroes. First a standard English sentence is spoken: "Why does she always say that?" This is followed by the dialect version, "Why she always sayin' that?" Then the correct sentence is repeated and the student is asked to echo the line.

Another tape translates slang into standard English. "I'm gonna slide outa this junction Saturday" becomes "I'm going to leave Saturday."

Consider the letter "r." In certain areas, this is not pronounced before vowels or at the end of words. That means the speakers must be taught to say Carol instead of "Ca'ol," Paris instead of "Pass." The letter "l" also tends to disappear. That means practice in saying Saul instead of "Saw," fault rather than "fought" and help for "hep."

Howard is not alone in such instruction. Under a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Center of Applied Linguistics in Washington, D. C., has developed teaching material for 11 public schools in the District to help Negro youngsters "straddle the cultures." A similar project was launched three years ago at the Lorton, Va., Youth Center, a District of Columbia correctional institution where Negroes outnumber whites 10 to 1. Lorton complements vocational training with "standard English" speech classes to help its youth get and hold jobs.

The federal program hasn't really begun rolling yet. The Labor Department must go back to Congress for appropriations to run its intended program, and then call upon HEW to help administer the instruction. Meanwhile, speech experts are thinking about a more radical approach: Teaching standard English to Negro children from low-income families at the toddler stage.

To do this Dr. Hurst has fitted voice-activated miniature tape recorders inside several teddy bears. During play the child discovers that if he speaks to the animal, it will respond (in standard English) with some kind of phrase. The idea is to get the pupil interested early in the fun of words. "In a middle-class family, there is a certain amount of verbal play, puns and so forth going on. What this youngster needs is the interaction to stimulate him," Mr. Hurst says. The bonus is that the listener is being exposed for hours on end to a "conversation" in English he wouldn't hear except perhaps in passively watching television.

TRUMAN R. TEMPLE

Patriots on the Campus

As the CIA has demonstrated, university students and professors make useful Intelligence recruits. There is fresh evidence of this. At Duke University a student has told how patriotism led him to spy on his fellows for the FBI. At Brockport College, part of the State University of New York, faculty members say the FBI sought to recruit them to inform on other teachers who took part in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, and that five professors took the job. In another bizarre instance, Ernest Wilkinson, president of Brigham Young University in Utah, admitted that the university last year had recruited a ring of students to spy on eight liberal professors in the political science department. Wilkinson is a Goldwater Republican who worries lest the Communists get hold of the country. Last April he made a speech running down federal aid and socialism. The student spies were to watch their professors, six of whom were forced to resign from the university for political reasons. Wilkinson promises this sort of thing won't happen again.

The FBI's activities at Duke came into the open unexpectedly. Doug Adams, a member of the student government, said he was interviewing people who wanted to take part in a model United Nations program when suddenly one of the interested students, Tommy Taft, blurted out he was sorry for telling nasty things about Adams to the FBI last year. Taft went on to say he had told the Bureau about Adams' role in an anti-Vietnam war demonstration, but now felt bad because he had come to realize Adams really was a nice guy. This was all news to Adams and he pressed Taft for details. Finally, to set things straight Taft wrote an article for the *Duke Chronicle*, the student newspaper. "During my freshman year (1964-

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65)," Taft said, "I had noted a good deal of anti-war literature on campus that described such things as American advisors torturing Vietnamese women, etc. According to the manner in which I was brought up, these flyers and handouts seemed less than patriotic and so I gathered several and mailed them to FBI headquarters in Washington.

"Shortly thereafter—in early spring of 1965—a special agent who lived in Durham, Rufus Powell, contacted me and questioned me concerning why I sent the material, where it had been posted, etc. I gave him what information I had. Sometime later the same agent contacted me again and we met for a short time. I furnished him more complete information and answered certain questions concerning what I knew of the University Liberal Action Committee [a local affiliate of Students for a Democratic Society] and gave him some general information concerning several individuals. The agent was always careful to note what my source of information was. To the best of my knowledge I had no further contact or dealings with the FBI my freshman year. Shortly before the March on Washington (spring of 1966) to protest the war in Vietnam, another agent (not Powell) called by phone and asked me certain questions about the group going from the university, how many, when, etc. I knew nothing about the trip and told him so. Several days later, I was again contacted and I gave the same answer. Since that time neither have I been contacted by them nor have I contacted them until the Sunday afternoon conversation with Doug [Adams]. When I realized his probing questions were more than just a passing interest, I told Doug I felt it would be wise for me to contact the FBI and clarify some questions. I did this by phone and the agent said it would probably be better for me not to say anything further. . . ."

But both Adams and Barb Wilmot, who also was present during Adams' original talks with Taft, claim Taft isn't telling all in his article. They claim Taft told them he had filed reports on students who attended the Selma civil rights protests, and had got up information for the Bureau on the source of funds used to pay various campus speakers. And Adams maintains that Taft, in his original story, said he passed information to Rufus Powell after Powell had supposedly left the employ of the Bureau and while he was working for the university—first as assistant dean of the law school and more recently as secretary of the university. In his article, Taft denies this. Powell maintains he severed all ties with the Bureau when he resigned in September, 1965, and is not a campus contact for the FBI.

It isn't the first time there's been snooping at Duke. The deans of the university compile an extraordinary dossier on each student, and students fear this material many find its way to government agencies, where it will be used against them. In addition to the usual information on grades, the dossier includes reports on the student's character from a house master as well as a report from the maid about the cleanliness of his room and so on. One student, who rifled through his files, found his parents described as "agitators." His house master had written of him as "a quiet fellow who doesn't participate with people." Sometimes, the information is wrong. One student was listed as belonging to organizations he had never joined.

If past experience is proof, university officials at Duke are always ready to cooperate with the FBI. For example, they provided information that was used in an FBI report on Joseph Harold (Buddy) Tieger, 1963 graduate of Duke. Tieger registered as a conscientious objector, and after winding through the draft board and state appeals board, Tieger's case came before the Presidential Appeals Board. To help the board in making a decision, the FBI submits a report that is meant to show whether the registrant is sincere in his conscientious objection and whether his beliefs are based on religious convictions. Part of the report on Tieger was put together by FBI agents who interviewed and quoted unnamed "university representatives" at Duke. One of them "advised that the registrant was idealistic and had shown himself to be bright and able but erratic and a nonconformist; that during a university presidential tea for seniors and parents, with everyone well dressed, the registrant appeared in shorts with his shirttail out and wearing tennis shoes. . . . Another representative of this university advised that the registrant was individualistic, immature, and anti-regulation and had an anti-personality, and was a nuisance; that complaints were received on one occasion that the registrant was lying on the floor of the Union on Women's Campus in the lobby entrance to the dining hall, and when questioned about it, the registrant claimed he had the right to lie where he pleased; his personal dress was totally inappropriate and intentionally designed to irritate. . . ." Another representative of the university dredged up more sinister detail. He told the agents that Tieger was long overdue in returning to the library a book "concerning the writings of Trotsky."

Tieger failed to qualify as a conscientious objector and has been classified I-A. Duke officials have insisted the university never authorized anyone to make statements about Tieger, but it is difficult to believe the FBI made them up out of whole cloth.

Meanwhile, Duke's provost, R. Taylor Cole, won't talk about the FBI on campus; university officials still compile their character studies of students, and steadfastly refuse to speak up for political freedom on the Duke campus.

James Ridgeway

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Sharing Revenue with the States

by Leon H. Keyserling

Under the banner of the "new economics" these past six years, we have made important changes in national economic policies. And because an appraisal of these policies sheds light upon the proposal to share federal revenues with the states, I want to point out what has been happening.

After the 1960-1961 recession, the upturn of 1961-1963 started rapidly and then slowed down greatly. Largely because of the massive tax reductions in 1964, the growth rate shot up for a brief period. But from first quarter 1966 to first quarter 1967 (est.), the annual rate of growth in real terms fell to about 3-3½ percent, which I call a stagnation rate. Weaknesses appeared in many important sectors of the economy, and the most responsible forecasts for 1967 are not reassuring. Whether another recession is in the offing within a year or so is not clear, but the threat is real.

Our full-time unemployment rate (by no means a measure of all forms of unemployment), is still sticking tenaciously close to four percent, the "interim" official target of six years ago. This is at least one-third higher than would be compatible with full employment. A four percent nationwide-average unemployment rate also inevitably means a rate several times as high as this average among vulnerable groups (*i.e.* Negroes). A growth rate averaging considerably above six percent during 1967 and 1968 would be needed to restore maximum employment by early 1969; and to maintain it thereafter, an average annual growth rate of about five percent. The imperative tasks at home and abroad should lead us to reject an economic growth of only four percent and a full-time unemployment rate of about four percent, both of which the Council of Economic Advisers now forecasts for the years immediately ahead, and indeed espouses.

Over the next 10 years, a five percent average annual economic growth rate (contrasted with a four percent rate) would yield an *annual average* of about $50 billion *more* in real national production. This $50-billion is about two-and-one-third times the cost of the eight great domestic programs in the fiscal 1968 federal budget – housing and community development; natural resources; education; health services and research; labor, manpower, and other welfare services; public assistance; the economic opportunity program; and agriculture and agricultural resources (47 percent of all farm families live in poverty, contrasted with 17 percent of nonfarm families). The outlays for these eight programs in the fiscal '68 federal budget are estimated at only 2.70 percent of our total national production, contrasted with 2.73 percent in fiscal '67. Federal expenditures for education have been cut back from $3.3 billion in fiscal '67 to $2.8 billion in fiscal '68 (cut back even more in real terms, in view of rising prices). Expenditures for housing and community development, despite the hue and cry about our cities and the almost one-fifth of our people who still live in slums, are lifted from $0.9 billion in 1967 to only $1.0 billion in fiscal 1968 (also a reduction in real terms, due to rising prices), and still come to far less than one percent of the federal budget.

Directing primary public attention to federal revenue-sharing is a mere academic exercise, until it is first brought home to the nation and to the federal government that tremendous increases in public spending are infinitely preferable to more tax reduction or unwarranted devotion to a balanced federal budget. This battle must be won *first*, and the fiscal '68 federal budget indicates that it is not even being fought.

The philosophy underlying the massive tax reductions, mostly in 1964, was that economic growth was too low because aggregate demand was too low, and that tax reductions without corresponding cuts in federal spending would appropriately increase aggregate demand. But this simplistic analysis neglected *resource allocation and income distribution* which are really the core concern of all economics. The result was a recurrence of imbalances now everywhere apparent.

The "new economics" has not only failed to weigh the relative value of increased public spending and tax reduction; it has erred in not recognizing the importance of the *internal composition* of federal spending and taxation. It is palpable that some types of public spending contribute more than others to growth and our well-being. The tax reductions of 1964, by allocating far too much to stimulation of investment in plant and equipment, and far too little to stimulation of consumption, aggravated the maladjustments which explain the serious deterioration in the entire economic performance since about a year ago. The Administration's very recent suggestions to restore the seven percent tax credit to *stimulate* the economy by encouraging investment, accompanied by its continued advocacy

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of the six percent across-the-board tax increase to *restrain* the economy (with the major impact upon consumption) are vivid illustrations of gross inconsistencies. The combination of these two measures would compound the unfortunately regressive nature of the 1964 tax cuts.

Now, it is urged in some quarters that we pause to "digest" the whole hodgepodge of Kennedy-Johnson programs which have been started, before we attempt much else. But if a man is stricken with appendicitis and one doctor is treating his ears and nose and mouth and toes, it is not enough for another doctor to advise "digesting" all this before starting surgical action at the right spot. We have far too many *programs* because we have no one program.

We sorely need, under the Employment Act of 1946, a full-scale program which budgets our resources and requirements for 10 years ahead, and then puts into effect, and in concert, those policies that will take us where we want to go. The work of the Council of Economic Advisers under the Employment Act has hardly reached the threshold of this central task, and until we cross it we shall continue to fly blind. Complaints about "big government" and "excessive concentration of power," notwithstanding, we cannot move ahead without much more emphasis on the unifying influence of larger and better directed *national* effort.

I am against the proposal to share federal tax revenues with the states, without any significant standards or "strings" as to how these shared revenues shall be used. It erroneously assumes that, granted increased reliance upon the taxing powers of the federal government, our national purposes would be served better if more of the decisions about the purposes for which federally-collected revenues are to be spent were made by the 50 states.

This entire question of revenue-sharing arises because our economic growth will, within a few years, yield large increases in federal income, even at existing tax rates. I estimate that during the decade ahead about $550 billion *more* in federal taxes would be collected at an optimum growth rate.

The main architect of the shared-revenue idea, without tight "strings," is Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. He outlines the plan with customary discernment in his recent book, *New Dimensions of Political Economy*. In explaining my reasons for opposing it, I shall be referring to Dr.

GOALS FOR A FEDERAL BUDGET THROUGH 1975

(in fiscal 1968 dollars)*

	Fiscal 1968 Actual			Calendar 1970 Goals			Calendar 1975 Goals		
	Total (Bill $)	Per Capita ($)	Percent of GNP (est.)	Total (Bill $)	Per Capita ($)	Percent of GNP	Total (Bill $)	Per Capita ($)	Percent of GNP
All Federal Outlays	135.033	673.54	16.67	150.5	720.10	15.67	173.0	765.49	14.12
National Defense, Space Technology, All International	85.584	426.89	10.57	86.4	413.40	9.00	97.7	432.30	7.98
All Domestic Programs	49.449	246.65	6.10	64.1	306.70	6.67	75.3	333.19	6.15
Housing and Community Development	1.023	5.10	0.13	3.8	18.18	0.40	4.2	18.59	0.34
Natural Resources	3.518	17.55	0.43	3.9	18.66	0.41	4.5	19.91	0.37
Education	2.816	14.05	0.35	7.8	37.32	0.81	10.6	46.90	0.86
Health Services and Research	4.767	23.78	0.59	5.4	25.84	0.56	7.8	34.51	0.64
Labor, Manpower, and Other Welfare Services	1.641	8.19	0.20	2.9	13.88	0.30	3.4	15.05	0.28
Public Assistance	3.036	15.14	0.37	4.5	21.53	0.47	5.0	22.12	0.41
Economic Opportunity Program	1.860	9.28	0.23	3.3	15.79	0.34	4.5	19.91	0.37
Agriculture and Agricultural Resources	3.173	15.83	0.39	7.8	37.32	0.81	8.9	39.38	0.72
8 Selected Domestic Priority Items	21.834	108.91	2.70	39.4	188.52	4.10	48.9	216.37	3.99

* To the extent that the general price level in later years advances above the fiscal 1968 level, the dollar goals for calendar 1970 and 1975 would need to be increased accordingly. The table is based upon the Administrative Budget, because the details set forth cannot be as effectively stated in terms of the Cash or National Accounts Budget. But conversion of the table into a Cash or National Accounts Budget would not significantly alter the import of the table.

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Heller's arguments in its favor.

Dr. Heller says: "At the federal level, economic growth and a powerful tax system . . . generate new revenues faster than they generate new demands upon the federal purse." But if the "demands" have lagged, it is only because the needs of the nation have been insufficiently appreciated. Dr. Heller feels that revenue-sharing without "strings" would reduce opposition to greater public spending for domestic purposes. I see no reason to believe that. Those who traditionally object to public spending because of its tax implications, or because it is "inflationary," or because "public housing competes with private enterprise," will not be any the less antagonistic if the states were to spend more of the federally collected money.

The great issue, as I have said, is not only the *total* level of public spending, but its *allocation*. This determination can be much better made by the federal government than by 50 states which, under the revenue-sharing plan, would be subject to no substantial federal standards. To make clear the towering importance of this point, the table on page 15 shows my own projections for a federal budget that would be genuinely responsive to our resources and our national needs.

The table is developed within the framework of an economy that is growing at a pace sufficient to restore and maintain maximum employment and production. The federal budget it proposes would not intrude excessively upon private enterprise, or upon the traditional functions of states and localities; the table indicates that the ratio of *total* federal outlays to GNP would in fact gradually decline, even though the ratio representing the eight great domestic priorities would increase. While allowing liberally for increasing outlays for national defense, space technology, and all our international obligations, it would also cover federal outlays for our basic domestic requirements. If put into effect, it would result, by 1975, in the virtual liquidation of poverty; in decent homes for almost all our families and immense progress toward urban renewal; modern health services for all, at costs within their means; educational opportunity for all, up to the limits of their ambitions and capabilities, at costs within their means; modernization of obsolescent transportation systems; a specialized attack upon the private poverty and the paucity of public service in rural areas; conservation and replenishment of national resources, including treatment of polluted air and waters.

Although the table does not specifically refer to the guaranteed annual income, its allowance for various welfare programs would be sufficient to support this scheme, as it gradually replaced some of our highly deficient welfare programs. The total outlays also allow several billion dollars a year for federal contributions to larger payments under the Social Insurance programs, in lieu of expansion of regressive payroll taxes.

In my judgment, the federal government is not only in a better position than the states to allocate public spending, it is in a stronger position to resist unwholesome pressures toward diversion of tax money to the *wrong* purposes. Of course, the federal government's record has not been perfect in this respect. Federal assistance that began in aid of rehousing slum dwellers, has come to starve this purpose and to devote an excessive portion of available revenues to "urban renewal" projects. These projects tear down substandard housing, only to force the occupants into other substandard housing at higher rents. Meanwhile, the government has subsidized the acquisition of land, at reduced costs, for glittering commercial and industrial edifices of those who do not need this public help so much, or do not need it at all.

But there is scant evidence that the states would do better if they had federally-collected revenues to spend as they wished; on the contrary, the misdirection of federal efforts in this field has been due principally to too much reliance upon state and local officials. My own studies in some of our largest cities have convinced me of this. For instance, public expenditures for those encircling highways which enable affluent suburbanites to move more easily from their homes to their offices in the city have been excessive in ratio to resources devoted to the schools, hospitals, police, and rehousing for the less affluent and poor.

Take another example. In 1935 the Old Age Insurance System was established on a unified basis. It has not expanded enough, because the federal government has not put into it enough resources out of progressive taxation, but instead has relied upon regressive payroll taxes. But this unified national system is a wonderland, compared with the blunderland of 50 separate unemployment insurance systems established under the same 1935 Act. The pauperizing and degrading – and not only because of inadequate funds – by many states and localities of those who are dependent upon welfare systems not subject to federal standards, has become a national disgrace.

Dr. Heller says that his revenue-sharing scheme would interfere only slightly with meeting our great nationwide priorities, because it would absorb only a small portion of the *total* federal budget – about $6-billion a year at its peak. But this $6 billion is almost 28 percent of federal outlays of less than $22 billion in the fiscal 1968 budget for the *eight great domestic priority programs* which I have listed. The $6 billion

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a year would be approximately sufficient to finance a full-blown nationwide guaranteed annual income (in the form in which I described it last week).

Dr. Heller argues for revenue-sharing on the ground that it would deflate the influence of powerful "private interest groups and pressures" which converge upon *ad hoc* programs of federal spending. I am sure that the "pressure groups" will be there, *wherever* the choices among various spending programs might be made. And I am doubly sure that those "pressure groups" which usually represent the public interest have a relatively better chance to be heard in Washington than in the state capitals. The reverse is true of those "pressure groups" which are inimical to the public interest and which operate largely under cover.

Any plan for revenue-sharing, legislated by the Congress, is likely to rely very substantially upon the relative populations of the states; and some of the more heavily populated states are among the most affluent already, even on a *per capita* basis. A revenue-sharing plan is also likely to be related in some respects to the amount of federal revenues collected from the respective states; indeed, this is at least implied in the word "share." The adverse impact of this upon the principle of "equalization" (through federal allocation of spending in accord with need) is obvious. Federal spending of the revenues the federal government collects likewise assures more flexibility in dealing with the unemployment problem, because projects employing labor may be more easily directed to areas of the country where unemployment is most serious.

Dr. Heller points out that one-sixth of our total population in each decade changes its state residence, and that the whole nation therefore has an interest in the health and education of a child born in any state. Agreed. But I cannot understand his use of this fact to support revenue-sharing. The more we become *one* nation rather than *fifty* states, the more our economic and social problems require national treatment.

Restricting Federal Fiscal Flexibility

Theoretically, it might be urged that revenue-sharing would still permit the federal government to determine the total amount of federal taxation relative to the total amount of public spending of federally-collected revenues (whether spent by the federal government or by the states). But this opportunity would be diminished, insofar as the federal government loses control of a large portion of the spending of the money it collects. Indeed, Dr. Heller says that the revenue-sharing plan should be contractual, and independent of the surplus or deficit position of the federal budget. I cannot fully understand why he, an avid exponent of the increased use of federal fiscal flexibility in aid of nationwide economic stability and growth and to combat inflation, should favor a plan which would restrict this flexibility.

The "new economics" has often recommended that Congress delegate to the President the power to make quick changes in tax rates. Sufficiently quick adjustments in the impact of overall fiscal policy upon the economy depend upon closely coordinated use of two weapons – taxing and spending. Vesting in the states an unrestricted responsibility for spending a sizable and growing portion of what federal government takes in would work against this objective.

The size and composition of the federal tax burden have powerful effects upon income distribution. Similarly, the size and composition of spending supported by federal revenues needs to take increased account of the need for more *ad hoc* spending to supplement the incomes of the poor. One example of this is the large contribution, supported by progressive taxation, which the federal government should make toward lifting the benefits under the OASDHI system. Two-thirds of our senior citizens are poor, President Johnson's later proposals to increase benefits are inadequate, and the financing of these benefits is regressive.

I cannot see any administratively feasible way for the states to undertake, with comparable results, such income-support programs. Nor do I believe the states would place sufficient stress upon this approach.

The needed increases in total public spending are so vast that *both* the federal government and the states need to do more than they have been doing. Dr. Heller says that revenue-sharing, by lightening the burden on the states, would mitigate the trend to (mainly regressive) increases in state taxes. This implies that the states would use what they get from the federal government in part to reduce the rate of growth in revenues collected by the states, so that the net increase in public spending would be *less* than if the federal government spent the money itself.

Further, I can see no reason to think that revenue-sharing would encourage the states to make their tax systems less regressive. The progressive nature of the federal income tax has thus far been a decisive counter to the regressive nature of state and local taxation. If federal fiscal policy is to be used to improve the nature of taxation at lower levels, and to increase the tax-take at lower levels (both proper objectives), the workable approach would be to use the federal taxing power or the federal spending power, or both, to *induce* such trends.

Although Dr. Heller in the past has made suggestions in this vein, he hardly accents them in his book. And anyway, if federal fiscal policy were used to induce or "coerce" the states to reshape their fiscal policies, this might be said to interfere with the "freedom" of the

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states, and would thus run counter to the enlarged "freedom" of the states which Dr. Heller favors.

I regard as meretricious the view that state governments are "closer to the people" than the federal government, and thus more responsive to their real needs. It has not been true to date, and I cannot share Dr. Heller's optimism when he says: "As an article of *faith* (italics supplied), I count rather heavily upon reapportionment to achieve equity in the allocation of funds within the states." This statement seems to me more a confession of what has actually been happening than a realistic hope for the future. Nor can I accept Dr. Heller's barbed comment that the revenue-sharing plan should be adopted because there is not enough wisdom at the top to deal with admittedly nationwide problems. The issue is not *where* taxes should be collected and applied to public purposes, but rather how federally collected revenues should be spent. If the states want to do more, they should tax more.

Spending Without "Strings"

The American people watch what their national government and its leaders are doing much more closely than they watch what their state governments are doing. Even if this could be changed – and I do not think it could be – *it violates every principle of good government that 50 states should spend without standards or "strings"* the money that one government collects. To be sure, we *do* need to develop state and local responsibility. But insofar as the spending of revenues collected by the federal government is involved, this can be achieved through federal grants-in-aid. These I entirely favor, with appropriate modifications and expansion. They permit considerable flexibility, and even from the standpoint of administrative costs are at least as economical as revenue-sharing, without its attendant liabilities. It is perfectly feasible to combine a federal hand in the spending of the money which the federal government collects with using state and local administrative instrumentalities (including advice), as well as quasi-public and private instrumentalities.

Moreover, the application of the grants-in-aid principle, in contrast with revenue-sharing with the states, gives the federal government much greater leeway in deciding whether the cities, or the states, shall spend federally-collected revenues. Dr. Heller appears satisfied to leave the cities to the mercies of the states. Yet we know how often this has worked badly, especially because state legislatures in many instances are grossly nonrepresentative of their populations. The answer that political reapportionment will take care of all this in time is too facile. At best, it will take many years before reapportionment can achieve throughout the nation the purposes toward which it is aimed. And even then, it should be directed mainly toward improved allocation by the states of the revenues which they themselves collect.

Apart from all this, with respect to these programs closest to the great priorities and social justice, there are grave unresolved issues as to the proper balance between the relative effectiveness of dealings between the federal government and the states, and dealings between the federal government and the cities. These issues should not be prejudged; they should be left open to determination in the light of unfolding experience on a pragmatic basis.

In an important sense, the revenue-sharing plan does not address itself to improving the allocation of power and responsibility between the federal government and the states. For revenue-sharing would *per se* involve no change in the ratio of federal tax collections to state tax collections, and no change in the ratio of public services paid for out of federal tax collections to total public services.

Here I think I should remind the reader that the federal government is *not* "taking over." From 1955 to 1965, state and local expenditures rose 125 percent, while federal outlays rose only 65 percent. In 1965, the state and local share in total spending for civilian purposes was 77 percent; the federal share, only 23 percent. Even if grants-in-aid were to be treated as federal rather than state or local expenditures, the ratio in 1965 was about two to one in favor of the states and localities. In 1964, the ratio of federal taxes to total national production was 14.4 percent, representing the lowest ratio since World War II. Of course, if taxation in support of defense spending were to be excluded, the ratio of federal taxes to Gross National Product is much lower than the state ratio.

The central point in all this is that the revenue-sharing plan without standards or "strings" represents essentially the same errors which have been deeply embedded in the policies of the "new economics." These errors are founded upon the proposition that federal fiscal policy should concern itself with the *aggregates* of taxation and spending and manipulate these from time to time, but should be "neutral" by paying relatively less attention to the resource allocation and income distribution aspects which are essential to optimize our economic performance, meet the great priorities of our national needs, and enlarge social justice. So long as these errors persist, they lead naturally to the conclusion that it does not make too much difference *who* actually spends the money, even though this affects the *purposes* for which the money is spent. These errors also lead, under the guise of appropriate "decentralization" and "sharing of responsibility," to excessive dispersion of responsibility, cross purposes and waste.

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Balaguer: The First Nine Months

An Interim Report on the Dominican Republic

by Selden Rodman

Santo Domingo

Some weeks ago Senator Allen Ellender (D, La.) flew to Santo Domingo to see how Joaquín Balaguer, Trujillo's erstwhile protégé as President of the Dominican Republic, was doing in his second incarnation as master of the Palacio Nacionál. As a fervent admirer of the late Benefactor, Senator Ellender felt constrained to ask after every progress report, ". . . but wasn't there more progress in that sector under the Generalissimo?" President Balaguer, who looks like a diminutive priest, and sometimes makes those who don't know him wonder how anyone so frail and patient can hold down the hottest political seat in Latin America, listened for a few minutes and then exploded. Leaning forward in his chair and waving his finger under the senator's nose, he proceeded to give his visitor a tongue-lashing. The gist of it was that Trujillo's "prosperity" had benefited no one but the dictator's family and the oligarchy; hadn't he (Balaguer) been in as good a position to judge the results of the tyranny as anyone? When the senator left he was reported to have looked shaken.

It is a truism that the office can make the man. Last June, when I saw him, Joaquín Balaguer looked like a scarecrow. Today he seems fleshed out, filling his suit, the wrinkles gone, the glazed eyes alert, his speech measured, his manner decisive. Obviously power becomes him. But more important, he thinks of himself as destined, and indeed capable, of leading the Dominican people out of the wilderness of class conflict. Nor does he think of his role in passive terms. I asked him with what Latin American ruler of today he identifies himself ideologically, and he answered unhesitatingly: "Frei." Balaguer's own party, the *Reformistas*, is grumbling that he is doing nothing to entrench it in power. The Social Christians, in contrast, appear to be the one party that is flourishing. Juan Bosch's PRD is fragmented.

For example, Brea Peña, whose Radio Cristál was Bosch's mouthpiece during the campaign, is minister of commerce and industry; Victor Hidalgo Justo, a power in the Constitutionalist fortress during the revolution, is minister of education; Buenaventura Sanchez, once number two in the PRD, is ambassador to Venezuela; Angél Miolán, the party's organizational brain, is minister without portfolio; former Provisional President Molina Ureña is delegate to the UN. Even Hector Aristy, Caamaño's fiery alter ego, has accepted a post in Paris. The defense ministry is still in the capable hands of General Perez y Perez whom former Provisional President Hector García Godoy (now ambassador to Washington) appointed to get the armed forces out of politics.

What about the armed forces, I asked President Balaguer? Are they still a threat to political stability? "The armed forces," he answered, "as a result of their bitter experience in the civil war, are now conscious of their duties and responsibilities in the democratic life of our country. If the country continues to progress, the armed forces will progress with it in terms of obedience and the strictly professional services an army exists to perform." Not entirely reassured by this conditional response, I asked General Perez what, specifically, he was doing to depoliticize this "headless monster created by Trujillo" as one Dominican businessman characterized it to me. Perez is a handsome Negro of commanding physique, tolerant and intelligent. He cited the army technical training schools, set up and financed by AID, the American assistance mission, to train Dominican soldiers as carpenters, engineers, electricians and the like. The idea has two facets, the general explained: soldiers will be given an incentive to get out, when their tour of duty is over, and not fear civilian life; at the same time the army will be given what he called "civic usefulness" – a function in road and dam construction, assistance to farmers and workers, as in Peru.

But on one subject President Balaguer was definitely less than frank and it is on this phase of his administration that most justifiable criticism has focused and the first disquieting signs of a revival of violence have made news: his failure to encourage formation of a genuine political opposition. He denied that the climate was discouraging to public criticism. "There is com-

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plete liberty to organize one or many parties," he said, "and I favor the creation and maintenance of an opposition that is genuinely democratic because such an opposition can constructively criticize the government. But unfortunately radical elements have organized in such a way as to be *un*constructive."

In the narrower sense, he was right. Criticism from the PRD and the various Marxist parties has been negative. It is assumed by these parties, often without evidence, that every social reform has a hidden, self-serving motive; and that American assistance has political strings attached. The usual charges that "the Trujillistas have returned" are rife. It is true that a number of old-timers occupy minor posts in the government, but these are men who never left the country, and to recruit any government in the Dominican Republic wholly from exiles or the youth is impossible. Trujillo's brother-in-law, Francisco Martinez Alba, is said to have regained the huge fortune he made by extortion, and Felix Bernadino, suspected of multiple assassination in Trujillo's time, is said to have his property back; but these cases have been in the courts since the earlier post-Trujillo regimes, and they remain unresolved. Nevertheless, the left is justified in pointing out that wages but not profits have been frozen under the "temporary" austerity program which also forbids strikes. While their claims that prices have "soared" and that strikes have been broken by the army are not justified, no one denies that almost a third of the labor force remains unemployed. The left is also justified in pointing out that the police constantly interfere with meetings and freedom of speech. Nor can it be denied that political intervention in such promising "grass-roots" self-help organizations as the Office of Community Development (OCD) threatens to leave the landless *campesino* with nowhere to turn in his desperation but to communism.

Changes Beneath The Surface

Superficially, nothing has changed much since June. To the tourist (if a tourist should come) this drabbest of Caribbean capitals looks more drab now that the revolutionary and electoral slogans have been scrubbed off the walls, leaving only smudges. The girls (a more distinctive type than the Puerto Ricans) still proudly carry aloft their status symbol – a head full of colored rollers under a gray gauze or cellophane veil. Black shades (a holdover from the tyrant's 30 years) are still pulled down on official limousines. The palace is still surrounded by acres of weedy, uncut grass, cracked curbstones, patched macadam and piles of rubble. (The hour that it used to take to be ushered into a presidential appointment has been extended to as much as *four* – "Balaguer's relaxed style" is the lame excuse of the press and protocol officers, who are constantly under attack in all the newspapers as the inefficient ciphers they are.)

The day I arrived in the capital a paid full page in the papers, signed by all the PRD officials, listed a series of "crimes" allegedly committed against party organizers all over the country. Ranging from harassment and temporary arrest to kidnappings and murder, all of these violations of civil rights were charged against the police, and not a single perpetrator (the ad said) had been brought to justice. The most recent and flagrant case in the news was the double incident involving the killing of a "14 June" agitator at San José de Ocoa on February 11, and the police interference with the funeral parade two days later in which one demonstrator was killed and several bystanders wounded.

I discussed these incidents with every official concerned about them, from General Perez to the leaders of the opposition. According to the general, the original shooting arose out of an attack on a "mixed patrol" (armed forces – police) in the mountains. "Fired on, they fired back." The "14 June," he added, was conducting military training exercises – a letter found in the dead man's effects "proved it" – and the Constitution "makes it an illegal act for anyone other than the armed forces to conduct military maneuvers." The shooting at the parade, the defense minister concluded, "was a police action. It is still under investigation. My first report indicates that the police were stoned, and fired upon from a rooftop, and defended themselves."

According to José Francisco Peña Gomez, the PRD general secretary, and Deputy Jottin Cury, formerly Colonel Caamaño's "foreign minister" and now leader of the PRD opposition in the lower house of the Congress, it was preposterous that a single *guerillero* would "attack" a mixed patrol, or that if he did he couldn't be captured alive. As for the subsequent shooting in the capital, they pointed out that the government had instructed the police to stay away from the funeral cortege – "Isn't it clear from the provocative appearance of the patrol car at the scene that President Balaguer exercises no effective control over the police?"

My own investigation into both incidents convinced me that the PRD criticism was justified. "14 June" two months before had publicly declared itself for the first time to be a "Marxist Leninist" party oriented to Cuba and (paradoxically) China. This move had been made to keep the membership from defecting to the China-oriented MPD. The captured letter had instructed the *guerillero* to step up his activities and go underground. The mixed patrol could have captured him, but acted precipitately. "We are still living in a half-savage society," one perspicacious conservative Dominican remarked to me. "Give a gun to an illiterate soldier and when he is insulted by a teen-ager his simple-minded

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reaction is to pull the trigger." As for the police shooting, it may well have been accidental that the police car passed when it did, but if the President's instructions were indeed to leave the demonstrators alone, the burden of guilt for counterpanicking (when the crowd panicked and ran) remains with the police. The PRD's charge that the committee appointed to investigate the second incident was a farce is also justified; it consisted entirely of officials from the armed forces and the police.

Nevertheless, the most significant fact about both tragic incidents is that they were followed by no public clamor or street demonstration. A year ago when several demonstrators at the palace were shot, an angry mob seized a policeman who was not involved and in retaliation burned him alive in the street. Even six months ago, demonstrations would have flared in all the principal cities. The public today accepted the incidents of February 11 and 13 for what they were – stupidities, excesses of anti-communist zeal on the part of armed men who still have a long way to go in accommodating themselves to the professional discipline demanded by both Balaguer and Perez.

Getting to the Dominican People

My interviews with Peña Gomez and Cury convinced me of something else. As the only party of the moderate left (save the Social Christians) the PRD is divided on how to carry on its activities with some chance of reaching the nonpolitical majority of Dominicans. Peña Gomez, the young Negro intellectual who captured the TV station at a dramatic moment of the April 1965 revolt, has many of the qualifications for constructive leadership. Born in Haiti and orphaned in Trujillo's massacre of the Haitians in 1937, he is intelligent, passionately devoted to the country of his upbringing, and has the personality to arouse people without resort to clichés, false promises and appeals to class or race prejudice. He is critical of American mistakes without being anti-American. He recognizes that the country's economic salvation – however much "mixed" aid might be preferable – is tied to American dollars, technical training and goodwill. While aware that anti-communism is often used as a cover for reactionary attacks on fundamental socio-economic measures and freedom of expression, he recognizes that intervention in Dominican affairs by either Havana or Moscow would terminate all freedom of choice for Dominicans and no doubt culminate in another American occupation. He is impressed by General Perez' conduct, and at least tolerant of President Balaguer's "good intentions." But Peña Gomez, so far at least, is too involved with his law studies at the University of Santo Domingo to be able to exercise much leadership or to see with his own eyes the transformation that is slowly taking place in the country's creaky institutions.

Cury, who supports himself by teaching law at the same university, inveighs against the Balaguer government from a negative position. He and the other lesser leaders of the PRD seem more concerned about keeping their rank and file from drifting into the various Marxist parties – by engaging in united fronts against "repression" – than by offering a practical program. The current chief of police – who has certainly acted with less tolerance than his predecessor under Provisional President García Godoy last year – is their principal target. He, and the hated *gringos*. Even Cury recognizes, to be sure, that American aid is essential – "but how, and on what, the money is spent," he says, "must be left entirely in Dominican hands." He cited a "typical" example. The government had recently awarded to Nebraska Mills for $750,000 a 25-year lease of "200,000 acres" that once belonged to a United Fruit subsidiary on the northwest coast. The policy of the American lessee, Cury said, was to "create a class of peons working under deliberately low wages, and to cheat the Dominican people out of $16 million worth of land which could have been divided among them."

With this statement in mind I began my own investigation into what AID has been doing since June – specifically into the case of Nebraska Mills, more generally into the whole direction the country's economy has taken in the wake of American assistance to the García Godoy and Balaguer governments.

Since the revolution of 1965, the Dominican Republic has received $161 million in the form of United States grants and loans. The work of American technical missions is beginning to be manifest in almost every part of the country – except the streets of the capital. The transformation being wrought at every level of life – in the civil service, the army, the sugar industry, in banking and credit facilities, in industrializing agriculture for export, in education, and even down to the mental attitude of Dominicans in some of the most remote settlements of the backlands – may not be visible (yet) to the eye of the casual traveler. Most Dominicans themselves, including some members of the business community with whom I talked, are largely unaware of what is happening. But it *is* happening, and the one place where all this feverish activity is too concentrated to escape notice is the American embassy.

Under John Bartlow Martin, in the days of the Consejo and Juan Bosch, the embassy had been a focus of political intrigue. I had seen it; but one has only to read Martin's mammoth account of his flounderings, as he sought desperately and unsuccessfully to keep Bosch from falling, to know how remote all this activity was from the realities of Dominican life – and how misunderstood it was even by those politicians who

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were being encouraged verbally not to cave in. Under W. Tapley Bennett, the embassy was almost equally detached from the realities; so committed were the ambassador and his staff to keeping the pro-American but ambiguously ambitious Donald Reid in power that all contact with the left was lost: so much so that when the unexpected revolt occurred, it was *assumed* (here and abroad) that American power was being applied to keep the right wing in the saddle. Under John Crimmons, a career diplomat who speaks Spanish, all that has changed. The ambassador remains strictly aloof from Dominican politics, but he is well-informed. The huge staff – the largest in Spanish America as of February 1, with 372 Americans employed, not including 154 Peace Corps volunteers – is devoted in the main to one objective: helping Dominicans help themselves in making their economy "work" within the framework of democratic, not necessarily capitalistic, institutions.

The AID mission, under the imaginative direction of Alexander Firfer, who would have been properly described in the 'thirties as a New Dealer of the left, is engaged in everything from helping finance small and large businesses through matching funds, to creating new industries (such as tomato paste) to free the economy from its financially crippling dependence on imports. It also is backing emergency public works that will take up the slack until the government's "austerity" program can be tapered off, is paying the salaries of bilingual American professors in the new universities and advising Dominican economists and planners how to diversify in the inevitable breakaway from the yoke of sugar. Further, it trains administrators to replace eventually the political appointees who have traditionally controlled such moribund institutions as the civil service and the armed forces, and last but not least helps finance the revitalized OCD (the Dominican equivalent of the Peace Corps) which is for the first time beginning to bring the *campesinos* in the remote villages – an estimated 49 percent of the total population – into the framework of the republic's economic and socio-political life.

"Is This Land Reform?"

Fresh from Cury's assault on the Nebraska Mills contract, I asked an economic adviser at AID what was involved in this deal. He began by pointing out that in five years the *Instituto Agraria Dominicana* has spent the fantastic sum of $11 million settling a mere 3,500 families on plots of 5-10 acres. The $1.9 million budget required to keep this antediluvian land reform going he characterized as "sheer waste – instead of a farmer digging a ditch, for example, they dig it for him." This was the Venezuelan approach to land reform, he added, and happily Balaguer was following the Chilean pattern. Thus, under the lease to Nebraska Mills, for every two acres put into new cultivation one automatically passes to the Dominican government, where it is held in escrow for a cooperative that will own the land. (The other acre, of course, will revert to the Dominican government in 27 years if not sold to small farmers in the interim). There were 6,000 unemployed farmers on these 33,000 acres (*not* 200,000 acres, as Cury claimed). Of them 1,400 are working already, and all 6,000 will be employed before the end of the year. Cucumbers, melons and strawberries (by plane) are already being exported. By the end of the winter $4 million in export revenues will accrue, and within the year the sum will amount to $15 million. Fifty percent of all profits go to the government's sector. Nebraska, furthermore, has offered the pier at Manzanillo Harbor to the government, and has offered to clear all the northwest coast area by machine, if asked to, and show the farmers how to market profitably on this vast range. "Is *this* land reform?" my informant asked with some acerbity, "or would Cury prefer to divide the land up and let the people starve?"

He denied, as did others I talked to at AID, that there were political strings attached to grants, loans, or technical assistance – or that basic decisions were out of Dominican hands. "Dominicans – all nine of them who constitute the President's Fiscal Commission – decide where and how the funds are to be spent. Except in insisting that materials be purchased from Dominican or American sources of supply wherever possible, and in adding an audit of our own to the two required by Dominican law, we exert no 'control'."

But the least perceptible and most radical transformation of Dominican life under Balaguer is in the field of education. It takes two forms. In technical and agricultural schools, and in higher education, Dominicans are for the first time taking steps to provide themselves with a modern education. The education ministry's "Pilot Project of the East" is a success. Thirty American Peace Corpsmen, specially trained to instruct teachers, are quietly revolutionizing the primary school system in that backward part of the country. So eager are the upcoming provincial teachers to learn the new techniques and symbols that some travel by foot or by mule for hours daily to attend classes.

The "autonomous" University of Santo Domingo has been a political football for as long as anyone can remember. It has been efficient mainly in producing lawyers and agitators. Following the revolution of 1965, half the faculty and student body seceded to form the new Pedro Enriques Ureña University, politics-free. Meanwhile in progressive Santiago, the nation's second city, a group of 20 liberal businessmen put up the money to build an entirely new university, the Madre Maestra which already has 550 students being edu-

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cated by a bilingual staff from St. Louis University, and will soon have its handsome new campus open to 3,000 applicants for admission. I asked President Balaguer what effect these new colleges would have on the old one. "They are going to prove very useful," he said, "in changing the backward attitudes of the autonomous university. In a small country like ours where a very small percentage of the population become professionals, those who engage in political activity are now bound to be pushed aside by the better students."

Hard Work at the Grass Roots

The second phase of the educational revolution is still more basic. It is the work of a young Dominican, Fiore Marra, and his mentor-father confessor, an elderly American liberal, AID's Albion Patterson. Marra, improbably, comes from an elite Dominican family and was educated at fashionable Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania. As a teen-ager he helped transport the weapons that killed Trujillo. Under the Consejo he started OCD on a shoestring. During the Bosch period he refused to let the self-help agency become a political adjunct of the PRD; his funds were cut off, but he survived. During the revolution he was protected by his wife's family (related to Caamaño) and his own (related to Imbert), and his corps actually grew.

Today he has 230 volunteers working in as many villages – the only social entity that has ever been in touch with that half of the population that lives beyond and below the *municipio* level. The volunteers Marra has recruited are in the 19-21 age bracket and come from the *municipios* where they have had at most two to four years of high school education. During their one month's training they are told that a revolution from either extreme right or extreme left is bad; that meaningful social change can only be brought about by hard work at the grass-roots level. "They accept this third way," Marra told me, "and pass it along to the *campesinos* who, incidentally, are farther away from the *municipio* than the *municipio* is from Santo Domingo, and 90 percent of whom are small landholders (under two acres) or landless squatters. In the second phase of their training, the volunteers are given two-to-five villages and told: "Go and make the revolution. You won't need to shoot because you've already won. *All you have to do is change their way of life.* We'll support you with money and technical assistance to the best of our ability."

The villagers have responded, Marra says, "because for the first time in 500 years nothing is being imposed on them from the outside. We support only their felt needs. We're reaching over 800 communities by this time. If our work were to stop abruptly there could be rioting and guerrilla warfare because this has been the only means of protest devised here in five centuries, the only way a *campesino* has ever made his presence felt in Santo Domingo. To democratize the Dominican Republic completely we will have to organize 32,000 groups, functional and territorial. These in turn will then be represented through elections to the municipal government, which represents their district but so far is out of all contact with them. But political action will mean nothing unless it is preceded by the formation of cooperatives, savings and loan associations, parent-teacher groups, and so on. We refuse to let OCD build *anything* where 60 percent of the cost (in labor and construction) is not put up by the people themselves."

From all reports, the system works. It is about to receive greatly increased support from AID. And Fiore Marra, lean, tense, visionary, has his resignation on President Balaguer's desk.

"Why?" I asked him. "Is he blocking you, or the OCD?" "No," replied the bronzed young man with his eye always far away as though focused on some distant horizon, "he's for it, I'm quite sure, but the pressures to politicize are so ancient and so powerful that he can't control them. Perhaps no man could. 'To the victor belong the spoils.' And they'll destroy us even though we're the only organization reaching that 49 percent – though now the communists are beginning to, just a little." "And if Dr. Balaguer refuses to accept your resignation?" I asked. "I will stay with OCD," he said quietly, "*only* if hirings and firings are left entirely to our board."

And there is the final facet to the dark glass of Balaguer's dilemma. So far, he is doing the right things. But who wants him to? Who is backing up his policy decisions, encouraging him to go further? Not the politicians – even those who make up his own party. Not the opposition – their stake in his failure is a total one. Not the police who violate his cautionary orders with impunity. Not the students at the "autonomous" university who would like to see the rival colleges in Santiago and the capital topple with him. Not the oligarchs, who probably voted for him out of fear, but who still prefer to see the state run in the old way – in their behalf. Balaguer acts decisively in those areas that come to his personal attention, but so small a storm warning as his nonexistent appointments schedule indicates a major weakness – an inability to delegate authority or to find efficient people to delegate it to. In a country famous even in Latin America for its inefficiency and time-serving, no one man can possibly make things move unless he encourages in others a sense of devotion and urgency: no one but a dictator, and Balaguer is not equipped by age, religion, temperament, inclination or ambition to call back the Furies whose earlier visitation he survived by playing dead.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Three on a Theme*

Sex continues to make the world of love go 'round. Here are three novels* in which sex is the principal theme or an important theme, written from three quite different views. All are relatively short novels, which may be a comment on their theme; none is a first novel, which is a small surprise.

The first view of sex is romantic, and therefore includes love. Definitions of love are notoriously difficult, and one possible definition – which fits this novel – is: a state of intense physical desire that, while it lasts, drastically affects values in one's life outside sex.

James Salter's title, *A Sport and a Pastime*, is taken from the Koran: "Remember that the life of this world is but a sport and a pastime. . . ." His novel attempts to substantiate this view in two senses: the sport and pastime of the lovers are traced diligently and delicately, and their story, under the eye of heaven, is seen as a sport of fate. A modern equivalent for "fate" might be the subconscious that predetermines the end of the story while the conscious is engaged in the sport.

Salter's novel is, in a way, a two-sided triangle. It deals with the affair of a young American, Phillip, and a French girl (the setting is France); but it is told from the viewpoint of another American, Phillip's friend, who imagines or reconstructs (this is deliberately unclear) the affair as it progresses from bedroom to bedroom and from one copulative variation to another. The material is sometimes clinical, but the effect is not, because of the *Doppelgaenger* technique and the tone of Salter's writing. For the first, possibly Salter was trying to build a profane Trinity, a body of Three, but the immediate effect is simply that the joy of the two lovers – the doomed joy – is so great that it spills over and poignantly envelops an empathic friend.

As for the writing, it obviates the standard café-and-garret *tristesse* because Salter skillfully uses a pointillist style: little dabs of color in rapid succession that generate emotional and visual rhythm.

> "The Porte de Breuil, its iron railings sunk into the stone like climbers' spikes. The women come up the steep grade out of breath, their lungs creaking. A town still rich with bicycles. In the mornings they flow softly past. In the streets there's the smell of bread."

Unfortunately the novel forces its tragedy. We know that the affair will probably end painfully, but Salter appends an accident that wrenches the story out of destiny into coincidence.

Still the book is a frequently touching attempt to remake the universe in terms of a passion at its fullest, to fulfill the explanation of the affair that Phillip gives his sister:

> "It's changed my life. . . . It's changing my life. . . . It's like saying: stop all this, stop the noise; now, what should it all look like?"

I thought that Peter Everett's first novel, *Negatives*, was the willful work of a moderately talented man – that is, a stubborn contrivance by a man with some gift for language. His second novel, *The Fetch*, seems to me less well-written but more willful: a novel that grows out of a relatively superficial desire to write a novel rather than out of more potent sources. *The Fetch* is not unclever. The sheer bravado of the willfulness that created it – plus its literary sophistication and the tease of pathological sex – keeps one reading. The result, however, is puny.

The book is in that sub-species of the post-Dostoevsky era that descends from the insulted and injured through Kafka to the anguish of present-day vermicular types. (Frequently English, as in this case.) Everett, like several others in this school, moves from utterest naturalism into symbolist fantasy. His hero is a seedy, lonely, young motion-picture projectionist – thus an easy symbol of both the age's technology and its dreams. He has been dominated by his father, of course. (Sheer Kafka. To paraphrase Jefferson, every modern author has two native countries – his own and Franz.) After the father's death he goes home to a huge house, where he finds a mysterious, equally domineering old uncle. The uncle is a "fetch" – that is, a *Doppelgaenger* – of his father. There is also a rude old servant with a sexy granddaughter who likes to be stripped and whipped.

It is all, in sober light, generally silly. The film references, amply at hand because of the hero's occupation, are sometimes ludicrous. At one point the girl, naked, is straddling him, plucking his eyebrows and painting him and, because he says he feels like a geisha, they commence to discuss a Japanese film. But too much sober light must not be thrown on the book or else one only begins to play the author's game by "reading" his symbols. (The huge forbidding house either as the world or the hero's mind; the uncle as the persistent, reproachfully successful father-penis; and so on.) What is chiefly noteworthy in this book, as in Everett's first, is the level of concoction. Forty or fifty years ago a man of literary ambition with little to say might have devised exciting plots or devoted himself to Zolaesque studies. Today he draws on rarefied psychopathological symbolism and, by virtue of this choice, defies you not to take him seriously. To me the book says little more than that Everett is alive in 1967, can write moderately well (except dialogue) and has the guts to brazen out a hollow but up-to-date schema.

David Lodge, also English, has a quite different view of sex: both funny and Roman Catholic. *The British Museum is Falling Down* is about a London graduate student of literature, devoutly Catholic, the father of three who does not want to be the father of four and

(Continued on page 38)

**A Sport and a Pastime* by James Salter. Paris Review Editions (Doubleday; $4.50).
The Fetch by Peter Everett (Simon & Schuster; ter; $4.50).
The British Museum is Falling Down by David Lodge (Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $3.95).

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The Greed for Collective Guilt

by Honor Tracy

The Baconian title of this book leads us to expect a profound exploration of Iniquity *an sich*, its nature, cause and effect: what we are in for is an emotional tirade against the laxity of censorship in England now. Miss Johnson feels, and she is not alone, that the pornography widely circulating there may encourage sexual crime of a sadistic order, a conclusion she

On Iniquity
by Pamela Hansford Johnson
(Scribners; $3.95)

came to after an experience which, she tells me, marked her for life. She was asked by a London newspaper to spend a day or two at the Moors Murder Trial at Chester in April 1966 and to write her impressions of it; and what the accused, Ian Brady, 27, and Myra Hindley, 23, had done to their victims, particularly to the little girl, was such that no woman was allowed on the jury, the details were not fully published, and crime reporters of long experience could hardly bear to sit through the case.

Miss Johnson's emotion, therefore, can be understood; but however natural, human and proper emotion may be, it seldom makes for clear thought or good writing. She tells us that she has tried to avoid "generalized dogmatism" and that she is asking, not answering, questions. What, then, are we to make of an outburst like this: "We are in danger of creating an Affectless Society, in which no one cares for anyone but himself. . . . We demand sex without love, violence for 'kicks'. . . . We are encouraging the blunting of sensibility; and this . . . was not the way to an Earthly Paradise, but the way to Auschwitz"?

Here it may well be asked for whom Miss Johnson speaks, as her puzzling "we" bobs up time and again throughout the book. A few pages on she refers to "kicks" (that depraved word we have all lightly accepted). Well, have we? No educated person is likely to use it, nor does it seem in itself depraved. Since to "get a kick out of something" is ancient vernacular, "kicks" would appear a harmless, legitimate offspring. But it soon becomes evident that this "we" is no mere figure of speech. Miss Johnson does require us all to feel guilty, all involved, all to search our hearts for the nasty secrets buried there.

A greed for collective guilt is characteristic of leftwing intellectuals. They will grab a share in Belsen, Apartheid, the Moor Murders, anything for which they are obviously not in the least to blame; but reproach them for the minor offense they have in fact committed, the failure to return a book, the ignoring of an important letter, and they are immediately up in arms. But Miss Johnson has her own particular reason as well, because in that dreadful trial "a part of me was titillated. . . . I wanted to know all . . . there was an element of repulsive stimulation." She is brave and honest to say so, but rash if she assumes that all, most, even many, of us would have felt the same.

As far as her general thesis goes, she is apt to put the cart before the horse. She makes much, for example, of Brady's having been a disciple of Sade, whose work, formerly kept under lock and key by the librarian, may now be openly bought in the shop. It is unlikely, however, that Brady was poring over Sade at the age of ten, but he certainly then was torturing cats and burying them alive: he was never without a flick-knife and once, having bound a little boy to a stake, he piled newspapers round him and set them on fire. We wonder what the Marquis can have put into his mind that was not there already.

It is true that books may now be bought, films and plays shown, of a kind that would have been unthinkable even twenty years ago; but in England there has been a long, embittered struggle against prudery and philistinism, and the horrid, often abominable, excesses of today may perhaps be likened to the wave of terror that follows a revolution. And even now there are limits. Miss Johnson complains of the "all-permissive swinging society, the new freedom to revel in violence, in pornography, in sadomasochism"; but in the next sentence, apparently unaware of a contradiction, she speaks of police storerooms "almost bulging outwards with the pressure of tons upon tons of dirty books."

The floodgates to "total permissiveness," she informs us, were opened by the *Lady Chatterley* case. The imme-

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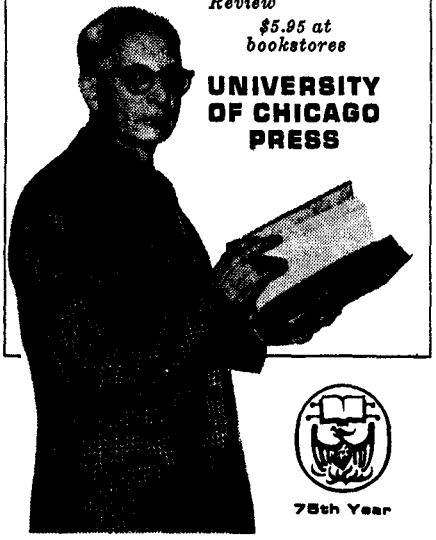

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diate result of the verdict was to make "a number of people feel the *necessity* for using four-letter words morning, noon and night. For weeks after the trial, I couldn't walk down Earl's Court Road without hearing these superbities ringing out in fresh young voices, as freaked with defiance as the pansy with jet." After that, it is bewildering to find her declare in the same breath that had she been in England at the time she would "unquestionably have slouched into the witness-box" in the book's defense. Moreover, if she never previously heard those words ring out in the Earl's Court Road she has indeed led a sheltered life. One of the funnier questions put by prosecuting counsel in that foolish case was: Would you like to put this book in the hands of a factory girl? Having at one time worked in a factory myself, I shall be permanently indebted to him for it.

The reader may feel inclined to put a question or two in his turn. He will hardly quarrel with Miss Johnson's assertion that sado-masochistic pornography is not published by "altruistic persons who believe they are helping to make a sweeter and more educated society," still less with her revelation, deliciously solemn, that it is done to make money. But he may very fairly ask, what of Miss Johnson herself? Was she compelled to take that assignment on? Did she do it for nothing? Were not her impressions, however horrified, in some degree "titillative"? Why else would a newspaper want them? Is not "titillation" plus moral fervor a classic formula of the "respectable" press?

The Quiet Revolution

by Maurice R. Berube

Who, Richard Rovere once asked, remembers Sidney Hillman? We long ago stopped searching for culture heroes among labor leaders. Perhaps labor's potential as social catalyst has been overrated and perhaps it can never again be the social force it was in the thirties. Can labor make the transition to a white collar service economy? Unfortunately, it must face its future under severe handicaps: automation and cybernation can make collective bargaining obsolete; the breach between labor and the intellectuals and the young has become almost unbridgeable; and the need to function in a protective capacity often encroaches on the equally important need to become a centerpiece in a progressive coalition. In short, labor's prestige and prospects are bleak.

The Labor Revolution
by Gus Tyler
(Viking; $6.50)

Nevertheless, there comes a Panglossian voice from within labor's temple proclaiming the oldtime religion. The labor movement is actually in the throes of a "deep and quiet revolution," Gus Tyler argues, which promises to be "the third great labor epoch in the 20th century." According to Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Cassandras, not organized labor, suffer from cultural lag. He observes the same set of forces and marshals the same set of facts as the "doomsayers" and comes out with a different forecast:

> "Since the end of World War II, the American labor movement has not been keeping pace with changes in an economy that has undergone several revolutions. A labor force that was once manual, production-based, located in the North and Midwest, and containing few women, has become mental, service-based, moving into the South and West, and heavily female. The unions must move with the moving body of labor or dwindle into insignificance."

Still, he sees labor on the threshold of its finest hour. The trick is to take the "long view . . . by periods rather than by years" and thus glimpse a "new kind of labor movement living on a new plateau."

In the end Tyler's diagnosis is specula-

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tive and wish-fulfilling. The coming labor force in America, we are told, will be younger, better educated, predominantly female, and employed by local government – precisely that sector of the economy which to date has proven so resistant to unionization. The cheerless truth is that despite some relatively minor breakthroughs, little headway has been made in organizing professionals and subprofessionals in the decade since the work force changed its collar from blue to white. One reason, among others, is that the larger professional associations have merely upstaged their rivals by borrowing their bargaining tactics.

Tyler predicts a forcible adjustment to the new economy similar to that made by the old line AFL craft unions in the 1930's when against their will they spawned the CIO and laid the base for a mass labor movement to organize the unskilled. The analogy limps. For one thing, a whole country – the federal government, the intellectuals, the churches – rose up in defense of the right to organize during the worst depression in our history. The few intellectuals today who champion the unionization of a professional middle class in a more affluent society seem moved more by memory than desire. And the federal government is too preoccupied with its role as marriage counselor to labor and management to spur organizing. As for the New Left, unionization is an idea whose time has come and gone.

I don't say that something approximating Tyler's vision might not come to pass. Stranger things have happened. But it seems unlikely. Valuable as *The Labor Revolution* is in stating the case for optimism, it overreaches.

A decade ago, Daniel Bell concluded that labor was at the end of its tether. The limits had been reached in growth, in the scope of collective bargaining, and in labor's role as an initiator of change. If labor was not to turn into a junior partner of business, Bell warned, it would have to revitalize itself into a new social movement. That proposition has gained dramatic proportions in the Reuther-Meany split. This vital sense of need for radical transformation is missing from Tyler's book. Instead here is the conventional wisdom

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of organized labor as it sees itself: a few notches to the left of center, attempting to stretch the limits of the welfare state, hoping against hope that "the end product will probably be a realignment of national parties with labor as the mass base for the party of liberalism." There is no discussion of the poor and what unions can do about poverty – the kind of challenge Reuther is taking on in his new community unions in the ghettos of central cities.

One gathers from Tyler's account of the Negro and unions that so far as the labor cadres are concerned all is well – or getting well. Meany and company have been "educating" the membership. What is rather ignored are such items as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 – when these "educators" were absent while thousands of unionists stood in the shadow of the Washington Monument.

Tyler is on firmer footing when he analyzes the political tendencies of organized labor locally and nationally. Here he has few peers. His chapters on politics will be read for some years with profit. Mr. Tyler draws on his experience as a political director for a trade union long engaged in day-to-day politics through the Liberal Party in New York. The more literate affiliates of labor – teachers and government workers – by dint of long experience in dealing with government are further politicizing organized labor, Tyler shows. It may be that henceforth the labor movement's strongest bailiwick will be in Washington, as a political pressure group. But it is asking too much to perceive a quiet revolution, with labor in the vanguard, emanating from an ex-plumber from a segregated union who holds intellectuals suspect and boasts of never walking a picket-line. Even Sidney Hillman, Lord rest his soul, would be skeptical.

It's Not Safe to Read

by Morton Mintz

In 1959 a writer named Lloyd Mallan returned from the Soviet Union to report that Lunik, the rocket the Russians said they had fired past the moon "was a hoax. It never existed." In 1965 he had another exclusive – American authorities had proof that the "walk in space" of a Soviet cosmonaut was another fake. Now Mallan has another scoop, a book entitled *It* Is *Safe to Smoke*. Under questioning at a press conference in Washington last month, the author conceded he did "not particularly like" the title and had "protested at first" to his publisher, Hawthorn Books, Inc. But "the fine print" in his contract, he said, gave Hawthorn the last word; it had made an investment in *It* Is . . . and "wants to sell books." The first printing of the $4.50, hardcover version was 25,000 copies, according to Fred Kerner, president and editor-in-chief of Hawthorn, who commissioned the book and boosted it with a $20,000 advertising campaign. In addition, he said, Pocket Books will issue the work in paperback.

It Is *Safe to Smoke*
by Lloyd Mallan
(Hawthorn; $4.50)

"Lloyd Mallan is no newcomer to the field of science writing," Kerner has told prospective reviewers. "He has had published more than a dozen books in the scientific area [his last was *Peace Is a Three-Edged Sword:* Prentice-Hall] and has written hundreds of magazine articles on scientific topics [Mallan's list of magazines that have published him includes *The Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, Esquire, Business Week* and *Current History*]."

Mallan opened the conference by reading a prepared statement in which he emphasized "that my intention is not to encourage people who have stopped smoking to start again. Certainly I would not want young people to start smoking if they have not yet done so." In his book he discusses why he wrote it: "Certainly I did not want to mislead the public. . . ." His theme is not that it is "safe to smoke," but

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that it "can be safe," provided certain brands are used. But at one point in the book he says that "it is safe to smoke – certain types of filtered cigarettes"; elsewhere he says it is "safer" to smoke these types.

Mallan's choice is Lark. His book travels Lark smoke through 191 pages but, Mallan assures his readers, "I have absolutely no connection with the tobacco industry and never did have."

Mallan's case rests in good part on an experiment with single-celled creatures called paramecia. He presents a table showing that they lived longest in solutions of the smoke of five brands whose cellulose acetate filters are supplemented by activated-charcoal filters. Tying for first place in granting the longest lease on life to the paramecia were Philip Morris, Galaxy and Tempo. Tareyton was second. Lark was last.

But earlier, when he wanted to sing Hark, Hark, the Lark, that brand was moved from last place to first. "With confidence," he said, "I am able to recommend the following four brands as safer [not, be it noted, "safe"] to smoke: Lark, Philip Morris Filter, Tempo, Galaxy."

Although Tareyton had, in the table, given paramecia a longer stay of execution than had Lark, Mallan excluded this brand altogether from his confidentially recommended list. They "had me coughing after the third cigarette," he explains.

At the press conference, Mallan predictably smoked Larks. ". . . I smoke two packs a day and never cough or wheeze (except when I have a bad cold)," he writes in his book. "I don't wake up in the morning with a 'cigarette hangover', either. . . . If this sounds like a testimonial – it is. But it is being offered free of charge to the public."

What gave the press conference a charge was that Dr. William B. Ober, a pathologist who had come along to urge the public to read *It Is Safe . . .*, was smoking Marlboros, a brand that lacks an activated-charcoal filter and thus automatically fails the Mallan test for safety. Why was he smoking Marlboros? Because, replied Dr. Ober, he likes the package.

As if that were not devastating enough to Mallan's case, the physician, dealt summarily with the effects of smoke on paramecia. This is "not really a very important issue," he said curtly in response to a question. "I refuse to comment on any inference drawn from paramecia."

Basically, Mallan's case is this: A cellulose acetate filter traps some of the "tars" that Mallan recognizes may include carcinogens. But the ability of the "tars" to reach the lungs is governed by the hairlike cilia in the human airways. The cilia, he argues, are paralyzed by invisible gases (including hydrogen cyanide) in the mainstream smoke. The paralyzed cilia are unable to beat back the mucous layer that captures the particles. If an activated-charcoal filter is used, however, Mallan's theory is that some of the invisible gases are blocked and the cilia left mobile. Thus, cigarettes combining both types of filters are "safer." This of course is supposition – and a supposition generalized from ciliated paramecia to ciliated humans. Further, many reputable investigators give highest priority to the elimination or reduction of "tars." Notably, the "tars" content of Larks is higher than that of Trues, Kents, Marlboros and Winstons, according to a study released last August by the Roswell Park Memorial Institute, and higher than that of 19 of 30 brands of filter cigarettes in a test reported in last November's *Reader's Digest*.

The position of Dr. Ober, who is associate professor of pathology at New York Medical College and director of laboratories at Knickerbocker Hospital in Manhattan, has been set out in a press release, prepared by Hawthorn Books, which attacked the conclusions reached in "Smoking and Health – the report of the Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. The principal conclusion in the report, published in January, 1964, was, "Cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance to warrant appropriate remedial action." That conclusion has been supported by every public health organization that has taken a stand on the issue.

"Dr. Ober described the [Mallan] book as a useful corrective on a subject too many people think has been solved," the press release said. "Dr.

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By JEROME AGEL

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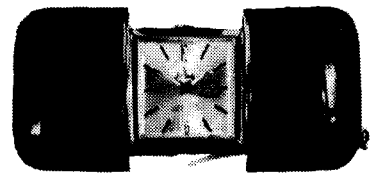

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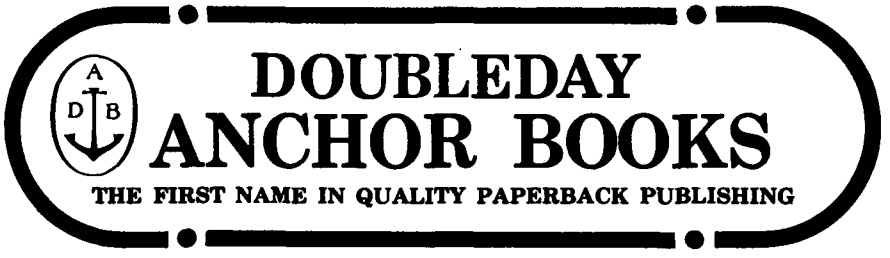
Ober, who has personally examined some 10,000 cancer cases, also stated that the Surgeon General's Report . . . was not written with scientific objectivity and, in fact, suppressed evidence which ran counter to the preconceived assumption that cigarette smoke causes lung cancer."

In 1965, Dr. Ober had been one of 39 medical and statistical specialists who had, with apparent spontaneity, come before the Senate Commerce Committee to fault the scientific basis of "Smoking and Health," and who had testified that they had no connection with the tobacco industry. I had interviewed by phone one of these witnesses, Dr. John H. Mayer Jr. of Kansas City, Mo., a lung specialist. His appearance before the Committee had been encouraged by a cigarette-company lawyer who is a member of a Kansas City golf club where Dr. Mayer plays, he said. The physician also told me that he neither has nor will accept compensation for his appearance, but that following his testimony he had several times been offered compensation, as a "courtesy," by cigarette companies he refused to identify. Dr. Mayer said he saw nothing wrong with the offers which, of course, he refused.

Such critics of "Smoking and Health" as Drs. Mayer and Ober doubtless have scored some points. They make much, for example, of the rarity of cancer in the trachea, or windpipe. They point out that in the trachea smoke is in higher concentrations than it is in the lungs, where cancer occurs with much higher frequency. They fail to emphasize that the exposure to smoke is of much shorter duration in the windpipe than in the lungs. Similarly, the critics say that lung cancer is twice as common in British men as in American men. Again, factors that might explain this are flicked off. British smokers, for example, commonly inhale "dirtier" smoke because they smoke cigarettes down shorter, and because their favorite brand is reported to be significantly richer in suspected carcinogens than popular American brands.

Mallan has accused Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond of the American Cancer Society of doing studies in which he "apparently does not consider the gas phase of cigarette smoke." This is incorrect. Hammond is, for example, concerned with carbon monoxide, which Mallan does not mention and which is removed by no filter – not even Lark's. Hammond, incidentally, is among the persons to whom Mallan, in his book, expressed "great appreciation for their gracious consent to be interviewed at length before a tape recorder. . . ." But at his press conference Mallan said he had interviewed Hammond over the phone, without telling him the conversation was being taped.

It Is Safe . . . identifies Charles Kensler of Arthur D. Little, Inc., as "the scientist who invented the Lark filter." But Kensler has been "noncommittal" about how the Lark filter compares with others. "Well, can you tell me at least," Mallan asked him, "how do the Philip Morris, Paxton, Galaxy, Tempo and the half-dozen other activated-charcoal-filtered cigarettes compare with Lark?" Kensler, Mallan writes, "smiled broadly. 'I think Lark is a very fine-tasting cigarette'." *It Is Safe To Smoke* had me coughing after the third page.



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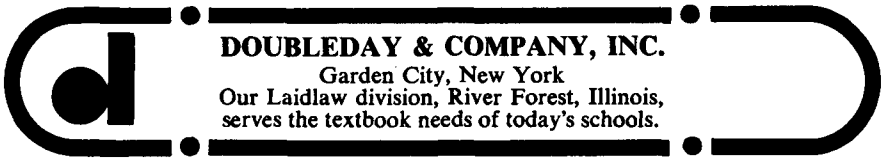

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American Power Politics

by Gerald W. Johnson

Mr. Bazelon has written a book full of learning, wit, penetrating insights, happily-turned phrases and so remarkably wrong that it is almost without parallel. His basic purpose is a change in the prevailing American concept of good government, that is, a revision of our philosophy of political history. It is a laudable purpose. To support it, he offers a review of the prevalent confusions and self-contradictions in the existing system. The factual accuracy of this may be confirmed simply by reading the front page of any first-rate newspaper of any recent date. Furthermore, the material is presented succinctly, with a wry humor, and with a highly effective reduction of legal jargon to the vernacular. All this, it must be conceded, is excellent.

Power in America:
The Politics of the New Class
by David T. Bazelon
(New American Library; $7.50)

But it is prefatory to this assertion: "From this self-evident premise, one may deduce a summary crisis of American history, involving most pointedly the eternal issue in that history – our refusal or inability to become a coherent nation."

One may indeed deduce it. As recently as 1964 some 27 million Americans did deduce it, but in the opinion of 43 million other Americans, that did not make it true. Goldwater was committed to reducing us to one coherent nation, and the proposal was so distasteful to 40 out of 70 million voters that it shattered a major political party.

Not that this is conclusive – 43 Americans, or 200 million can be wrong, and the bewildered pessimism now prevalent is convincing evidence that they have in fact been wrong somewhere at some time. But it is definite proof that most of us view incoherence, not as the central issue, but as a central condition of our history. An issue may be decided by an act of will, but a condition may not be altered by fiat. We are incoherent, not by perversity, but by the influence of factors beyond our control, including ethnogeny, ethnodicy, and ethnogeography, all of which were determined for us without reference to our wishes and cannot be altered by any effort of our will.

Pursuing the phantom of incoherence, the result of diversity of opinion, as an issue, Mr. Bazelon logically blames the architects of our system for not deciding the issue in the beginning. "I share the heretical view," he says, "that, so far from the Constitution's being our greatest blessing, the really outstanding consideration is that the country has survived it this nicely." Heretical it may be, but it is the view shared by most of the men who devised the thing. Sixteen of the forty-five were so outraged that they refused to sign the monstrosity, and of those who did sign George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson, Rufus King did so with grave misgivings publicy admitted, and nearly, if not quite all the others with mental reservations. Nobody knew that the project would work, and all previous experience indicated that the odds were heavily against it.

Their fears were justified, for nothing like it had ever been done in the world before. Hamilton's romantic delusion that the American colonies were merely a displaced England and could be a slightly modified British system was the infatuation of a dreamer who had never seen England. It did not fool Franklin, Adams, Jefferson or any of the others who had visited Europe. They knew that the organic law, because it was new, must be tentative, experimental, therefore malleable, when experience might show the necessity of a change in shape.

Two similar efforts to create a viable new order of government have since been made. One, the French, deteriorated into imperialism within a decade. The other, the Russian, after an existence of less than 50 years has split down the middle, and both segments show signs of crumbling. But the incoherent, pliant, loose-jointed American Constitution ("all sail and no anchor," Macaulay called it) has endured for 180 years and under it the country has acquired population, wealth and military power beyond all precedent.

Obviously, then, our system contains, or in the past has contained, a factor of extraordinary survival value. Mr. Bazelon has not found it. He has not even looked for it, as he is plainly convinced that it does not exist. He devotes his effort, instead, to a search for a lethal factor responsible for our present discomfort and sure to bring on the death of the republic unless it shall be eliminated soon. He believes

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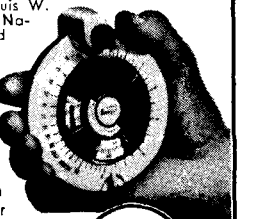

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he has found it in our persisting failure to become a coherent, unified nation. He hopes that the "New Class" (the managerial) will achieve it.

The *non sequitur* is staggering. If the last half-century has taught the world anything, it is that nationalism, if not an exploded theory, is certainly one whose usefulness has been exhausted except in special cases, usually involving small populations on restricted territory. For a continental domain with vast resources, nationalism is highly dangerous, not only to all adjacent societies, but also to itself. So are all other previously accepted theories of social organization – imperialism, oligarchy, absolutism, tribalism, all are husks from which social values were long since torn out. There is nothing to which the United States can go back. It must go forward into the unknown, for clinging to the known means regression into some obsolete form which has already proved to be self-destructive.

Our critics all over the world are bawling that it has already happened that we have drifted into imperialism and of a medieval type at that, an imperialism that intellectually and morally draws less from Disraeli than from Genghis Khan. We do not believe it. Santo Domingo and Vietnam have other explanations. But we should be fools not to realize that the danger exists and that it is, in the legal phrase, "clear and present." If we are not going into imperialism, then where are we going?

Mr. Bazelon's answer is suspect because it is precisely what he constantly inveighs against, that is, dogmatism. He does not specifically deny that the men of 1787 were in the position of having to pick a path of light through the darkness of the unknown, but he does intimate that they had a lamp of sorts in English parliamentary government. He ignores the fact that in 1787 the battle for supremacy between King and Parliament was still undecided, and 45 years were to pass before it was finally decided in favor of Parliament. On the other hand, he is quite definitely of the opinion that we are not back where we were in 1787 because we have a strong illuminant in the various collectivist theories of European philosophers, especially as they are refracted through the minds of Matthew Josephson and Richard Hofstadter.

But faith in universally applicable truth is the definition of dogmatism. Collectivism in some fields of activity – carriage of the mails, for example – we have always practised, and for a generation we have been extending it into other fields, as expedience dictated. The process may be, probably will be projected in directions yet to be determined, but it is fantasy to imagine that any of the current European forms – radical liberalism, socialism, totalitarianism – can be fitted to our peculiar situation without modification amounting to reconstruction. We must find our own way, probably without much benefit of Messrs. Josephson and Hofstadter. Possibly Mr. Bazelon's New Class, that is, managers and office men rather than proprietors and teachers, may be efficient guides, but why should they? They are people transferred to new jobs, but the same kind of people.

Our task is to isolate and identify the quality in the men of 1787 that enabled them to find an imperfect but passably efficient resolution of the paradox of liberty under law. That quality, not the lucubrations of Calhoun, Tocqueville, Bryce, or Wilson, is the heart of the real philosophy of American history. Unfortunately, it presents what, to as austere a logician as Mr. Bazelon, may seem to be a contradiction in terms, to wit, skeptical idealism. It gave them an answer that served them, starting as they did from a position of weakness. The same answer will not necessarily serve us, starting, as we do, from a position of strength. But the same spirit may guide us to an answer that will serve.

The idealism of the Founders persuaded them of the predominance, however slight, of good in the average man, but that the average man is, was, or ever will be good, their skepticism flatly rejected. Thus Thomas Jefferson could remain the adamant defender of freedom of the press without yielding his abrasive opinion of newspapers. Thus John Adams, in searing contact with Hamilton and Pickering, could envisage a time when the "natural *aristoi*" would rise to the top. Thus Lincoln could descry a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition (*i.e.*, the hypothesis, not the certainty) that all men are created equal.

It is a slippery philosophy, hard to grasp and harder to hold. More than once we have lost our grip on it, and have wound up shamed and owing money. But when, as, and if we keep it firmly, "we have gone on," as Jefferson said, "and so we shall go on, puzzled and prospering beyond example in the history of man."

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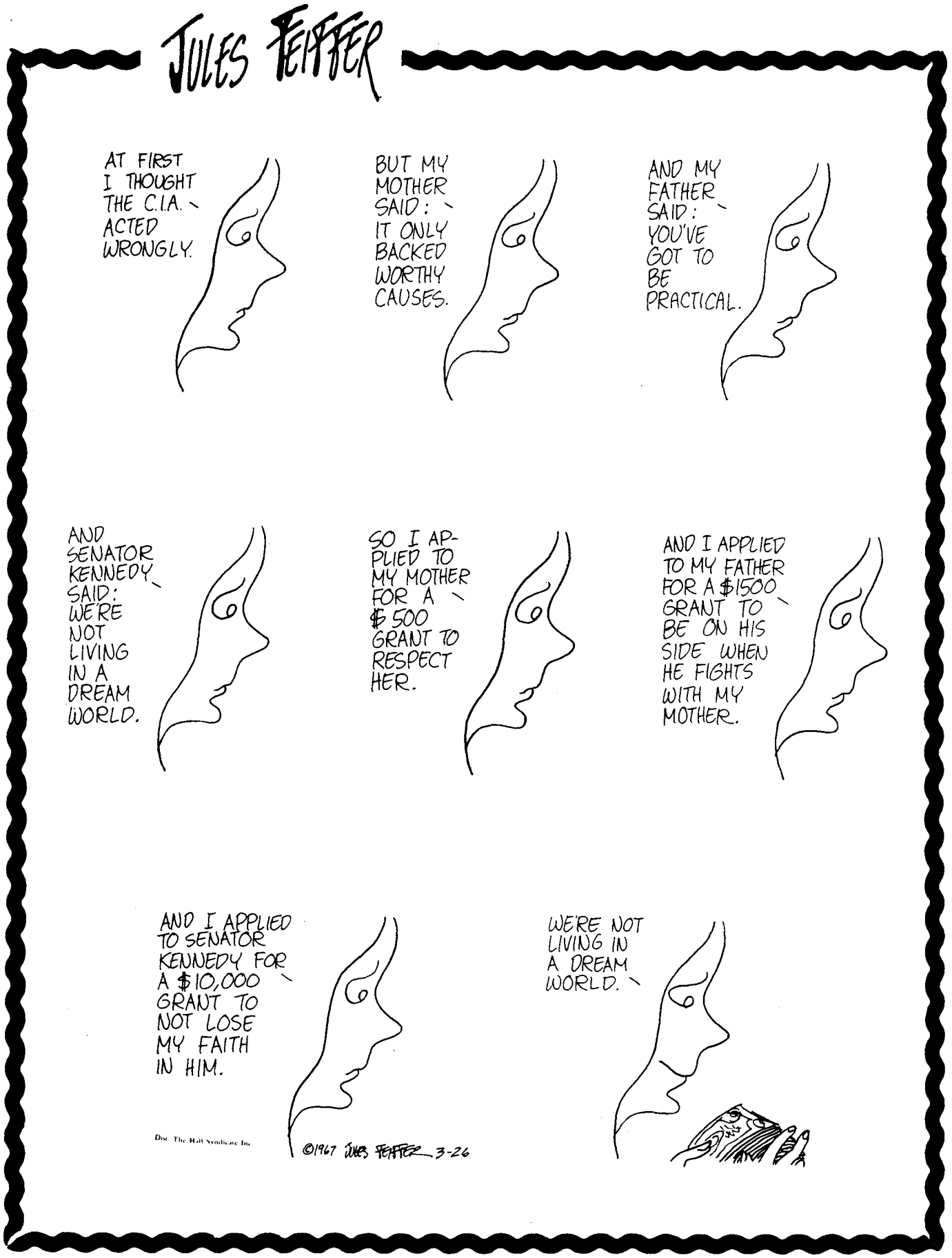
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A COMMUNICATION

The Future Planners

Since the publication of Andrew Kopkind's "The Future Planners" (February 25), my hot wire has brought me the following news:

1. From Dan and Mike: sharp declines in the Left-Wing Know-Nothing Index and the Disinterested Technician Determinant, along with a rise in 3-M (Minnesota Mondale Middle) stock.

2. From Pat: a discernible increase in Female-Headed-cum-Husband families in white suburbs, together with a higher middle-aged male PAR (Participation Aspiration Ratio).

3. From "Rand": more action expected in Los Angeles suburbs to prevent Gov. Reagan from killing the goose that lays the golden eggheads.

On the other hand, Ray is writing a long memo to convince me, if not himself, that we "just really don't have the data yet." So I must withhold judgment on the article until all the returns are in. . . .

In any case, Kopkind's article suggests that he could never succeed as a "technipol." He writes too well.

Let it be hoped that such skill will be used by *The New Republic* in doing more in accordance with Kopkind's theme that future-planning, systems analysis, and social accounting and all that are "too important to be left to the planners."

I am not suggesting that you be "Kopkindlier" to technipols by going so far as reviewing *Social Indicators* (Raymond A. Bauer, ed. MIT Press, 1966) or the forthcoming two ANNALS volumes *Social Indicators and Goals for American Society* (May and September 1967). But I do believe special efforts are needed to get on top of certain highly complex social issues and report them in terms that are widely understandable. The crime discussion to which Kopkind referred, for example, was one in which one of our most eminent sociologists – Daniel Glaser of the University of Illinois – came up with a new classification of different types of crime: (1) predatory crimes (including offenses against persons, crimes against property, and fraud and "white collar" crime), (2) illegal service crimes (which include a large part of organized crime and police corruption), (3) public disorder crimes, and (4) crimes of negligence. He also pointed to a fifth area of what might be called "status crimes." In some circumstances "the status of being a narcotics addict, a chronic alcoholic, a minority group member, or merely a very poor person suffices to make the agents of the law define one as a criminal."

Kopkind very wisely points to the urgent necessity of looking for the underlying social causes of crime. It is just as urgent, I submit, to assume that different kinds of crime may have different causes. By doing somewhat better in making these distinctions, we can probably hope to take more effective action. In this connection I would like to quote the reaction of a modern-style Police Chief to the President's recent "safety in the streets" theme in his crime message: "Organized crime and police corruption are ten times more serious than the threats to safety in the streets. . . ."

I should also like to report that our seminar discussions "conducted around the East Coast" have led to an interesting paradox. Some of the participants have come to the conclusion that the Academic Know-It-All Index is far too high. Focusing on narrow indicators, they believe, the "future planners" will miss the guts of what's really happening down there among the people.

On the other hand, I have seen others stop short in their efforts to plug for more realism and understanding. "My God," I've heard them say, "how terrible it might be if the high policy makers really learned too much." If this kind of learning can be distributed much more widely, as Kopkind suggests it might be, we'd have less reason to fear.

In any case, let's get one microscopic fact straight: I never served as director of the Council of Economic Advisers. When I was there (1946-52) as Executive Secretary, the Chairmen were Edwin G. Nourse and then Leon H. Keyserling and I don't think that anyone – including Harry Truman – would have tried to direct them.

Finally, my hobby horse is "social systems accounting," which is applicable – with adaptation to *The New Republic* as well as the whole (lower case) nation.

And I resent the allegation that I have no ax to grind. I believe that social science is inescapably based on moral values and political commitment. I have never tried to hide either. Besides, as anyone can tell from reading *The State of the Nation*, my "long and difficult" chapter in *Social Indicators*, my accounting system is still pretty rough and I'm now concentrating on a grinding-and-sharpening program.

Bertram M. Gross
Syracuse University

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Correspondence

Ken O'Dunc Jr.

Sirs:

I should like to turn Senator Robert Kennedy's question ("What Can the Young Believe?" March 11) back to him: What can the young middle-ager believe? Am I to believe a Bobby who is terribly concerned for the individual, or the Bobby who tried to put through Congress an expanded wire-tap bill and played footsie with the CIA; a Bobby who could accommodate himself to McCarthy and McClellan, or the Bobby who hears the anguish of the young when they feel (justifiably, I think) betrayed; a Bobby who now (following expeditiously the leadership of the young in search of a leader) faults the misbegotten Vietnam imbroglio, or the Bobby who launched a similar kite a year or so ago (when our involvement was just as wrong) only to decide that the wind wasn't yet favorable? When I see an engagingly tousle-haired finger held up to catch the prevailing breezes, I'll know to whom it belongs.

And finger brings me to Robert Brustein's review of *MacBird*. I'm confident that the play could allay his fear that it might not act as well as it read: What was there to lose? As I read the play, I could feel nothing but relief at having outgrown the sophomore syndrome. I'm sorry – for Brustein's sake, not mine – that friends and I never committed to script some awfully clever and outré things we used to improvise for our own amusement during undergraduate days. This is unfair, really, to Barbara Garson: I found her quite precious and as subtle and mature as a journalistic member of the underground – the Berkeley Barb. Brustein spoke warmly of the "irrepressible impudence," but then I've never liked "Dennis the Menace," either. I'm glad, though, that he got to sit next to Walter Kerr. . . .

Ward Fulcher
Bakersfield, Cal.

Is the youth to whom Senator Robert Kennedy refers perhaps defined by a sampling of his own mail? I would invite him to my introductory courses in political science where the young, acculturated to the midwest of course, still view anti-communism as God's will (and where the Business Administration College is anti-communism's most vocal supporter), where there is little awareness of the migrant worker problem of the Mexican-American in their own community, much less an awareness of problems in Appalachia ("where's that?"), where in an examination over half these students felt the function of the political science curriculum ought to be to "train good citizens," and not be particularly concerned with objective analysis, or even the relating of facts and values.

There is good opinion and some fact to support the idea that the "Kennedy image" finds its greatest appeal among the young voter. It seems that the junior senator from New York might well be basing his youth appeal to a dishearteningly small – however vocal – minority. May I suggest that his problem is not so much how to answer the questions raised by this minority as it is to awaken the vast majority of the youth to the fact that these questions should also be raised by them? For them, I fear, the language from the "height of government" which the senator scorns is all too relevant.

Sandra Sutphen
Bowling Green State University

To Market We Go

Sirs:

Ed Dowling's factually inaccurate and emotive article "To Market We Go" (January 28) will be a cause of disquietude to all familiar with his subject. Since studies in which I participated were involved, I would like to set the record straight on several counts:

First, the broad conclusion reached by the staff of the National Commission on Food Marketing and the economists who made the Arthur D. Little studies are nowhere nearly as far apart as Dowling made them out to be. The summary statement appearing in the NCFM's *Report* reads:

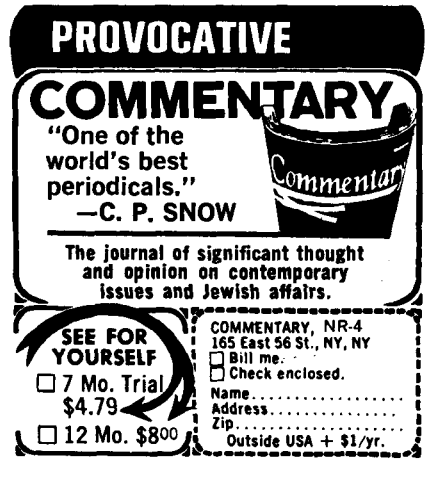
> "The Commission completed its study believing that the contribution of the food industry to a high and rising level of living in the United States was fully comparable with that of other leading sectors of the economy. In broadest terms, the industry is efficient and progressive [and has] . . . provided consumers with a varied, abundant, and nutritious array of foods at generally reasonable prices."

After assessing the same body of facts available to us and to the commission's staff, Professor Slater and I offered this summary observation in our paper on "Standards of Competition and the Food Industry," presented before the American Marketing Association in June 1966:

> "Whether [all these facts] . . . add up to a conclusion that the food industries are workably competitive will obviously depend on the particular definition of workable competition to which the assessor subscribes. – By most standards, including those established by the manufacturing economy generally, the food industry demonstrates a high order of competition."

It is quite evident that at virtually every turn Dowling presented what he wanted to read into the NFCM's Report and the ADL study rather than what he actually found. I shall point out here only one of the most glaring examples of misrepresentation. The NCFM notes the changing styles in American life with the observation:

> "Increasingly, the consumer demand is for convenience and variety – a trend spurred by high income,



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wives' desire to spend time outside the home, and the increasing diversity of family activities and tastes."

Dowling, evidently adamantly intent on not being confused by the facts, attributes the entire change to the advertising budgets of food manufacturers:

"No economist [sic] seriously opposes the fact that in today's economy wants are created by manufacturers who hope to satisfy the wants they create. Yet the food lobby piously claims that new products are developed in response to consumers needs!"

The "food lobby" is Dowling's label for the Grocery Manufacturers of America, a trade association that engages in the legitimate and open activities of conventional trade associations. The misnomer ill becomes one who, in the same article, pledged such strong allegiance to the "truth-in-packaging" act and to the grade labeling of food products on the grounds that it conveys truthful information.

The intricate workings of a complex market economy are difficult enough to understand and assess, even for economists highly trained in modern analytical tools. They clearly are unamenable to the skills of a student of propaganda, Dowling's professional field, however well he has mastered his chosen profession. . . .

Jesse W. Markham
Princeton University

Podhoretz and the CIA

Sirs:

I wish to clarify a reference made to me in your March 4 editorial on the CIA, "Playing It Straight." You say: "Through the Farfield Foundation, the Agency sought out and gave small travel grants to the editor of *Commentary*, Norman Podhoretz, and his wife to attend a CIA-funded conference in Mexico." Actually, my wife and I, together with others you mention, went to Mexico not to attend "a CIA-funded conference," but rather to meet informally for a few days with writers and intellectuals in that country. (I myself went, incidentally, in my capacity as a literary critic; *Commentary* was in no way involved.) Neither I nor anyone else on the trip was asked by the Farfield Foundation to make a report; nor did any of us do so. If, as has now been alleged, the CIA indeed paid for the trip through Farfield, I cannot imagine what they thought they might be getting in exchange. In any case, they got nothing.

Norman Podhoretz
New York, N. Y.

The War

Sirs:

As one who has wasted quite a few years attempting to understand, a little self-consciously, what it is to become a human being, I would like to add my voice in protesting our war in Vietnam. I was born in one of the Baltic countries which the Russians annexed in 1940. Of our family clan, eight were sent to Siberia. Five of these died there, three survived. The rest of us escaped at the end of the war and now reside here in America or Sweden. I was too young then to understand in what "perspective" the events should be placed, but knew even at seven years old that our family was different. I remember a friend and son of a "commie" telling me: "Well, your father finally got what was coming to him." Soon after arriving in America, I joined the Marine Corps and went to Korea. I arrived there three days after the armistice and had plenty of time to look at people who were, like myself once, refugees. How shall I put it? Well, it is one thing to be hurt yourself, quite another to see other people hurt. I know what it is to be shot at, dropped bombs at – no napalm then or I wouldn't be here, I don't think. There was too much hurt for hate to be left. Yet, there are many of my own exiled countrymen who expect me to continue on hating, nevertheless. A number of "good" Americans have told me I should leave the country, especially whenever I have wondered out loud if our American diplomacy knew what "diplomacy" was all about and could find no alternatives to the bloodletting going on now in Vietnam. Some have asked me: "Who are you to speak what can or cannot be done?" The usual answer would be that I am exercising my rights as a citizen. The one which terrifies me, however, is that being an anonymous citizen I am merely wasting my time.

Anton A. Benjamins
Boston, Mass.

Defoliatory Observation

Sirs:

During the Parliamentary debate of 1774 over what to do with Massachusetts after the Boston Tea Party, Mr. Charles Van, M.P., made the following defoliatory observation: "I would do as was done of old in the time of ancient Britons, I would burn and set fire to all their woods, and leave their country open, to prevent that protection they now have; . . ." – Cobbett's *Parliamentary History of England*, XVII, 1210.

I have been unable to establish whether Mr. Van was an Air Force reservist.

Neil R. Stout
University of Vermont

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Kauffmann, *from page 24*

who fears that the bad news is imminent. The religious beliefs of the young couple are, appropriately, taken as given, so that we begin with their difficulties: the matters of rhythm control, temperature checking, and the whole game (as it is called) of Vatican roulette.

The atmosphere and tone are reminiscent of Kingsley Amis. The hero is a bumbler – highly intelligent, poor, sexually acute and agonized but nevertheless well-bred and reticent. Thus it is very much a class novel, about the new aristocracy in English fiction: the penurious, prurient scholar-gentleman. Lodge's novel relies every bit as much on the assumptions of this class structure as Jane Austen relied on hers.

The book has intellectual wit and farcical humor. The former rarely flags; the latter is well-planned for a time but wobbles toward the end, where the hero encounters the elderly niece of a dead author with literary relics to sell and with a hot-panting teen-age daughter who sets the price. There is some good feeling even in the verbal knife-play between the hero and his wife and friends, the feeling that even a hard knock like this possible fourth pregnancy is part of a civilized game for people who are capable of playing it – all of which sustains the social landscape for this new genus of high comedy. The book is a witty minor statement of contemporary hyperconsciousness.

For me, the sum of these three books was more rewarding than I expected. This is because, as it happened, I read all three in one day, and, although this was certainly not planned by the authors or myself, they became three parts of one large work, three contemporary aspects of the subject of sex. Despite the fact that two of these novels are slight and one (Everett's) is scarcely worth reading, their totality reaffirmed the mysteries – recurrent yet always elusive – of their common theme. And the sum of the experience was interesting. Perhaps one way to read minor novels – to their advantage – is to group them by theme and to consume them in clusters.

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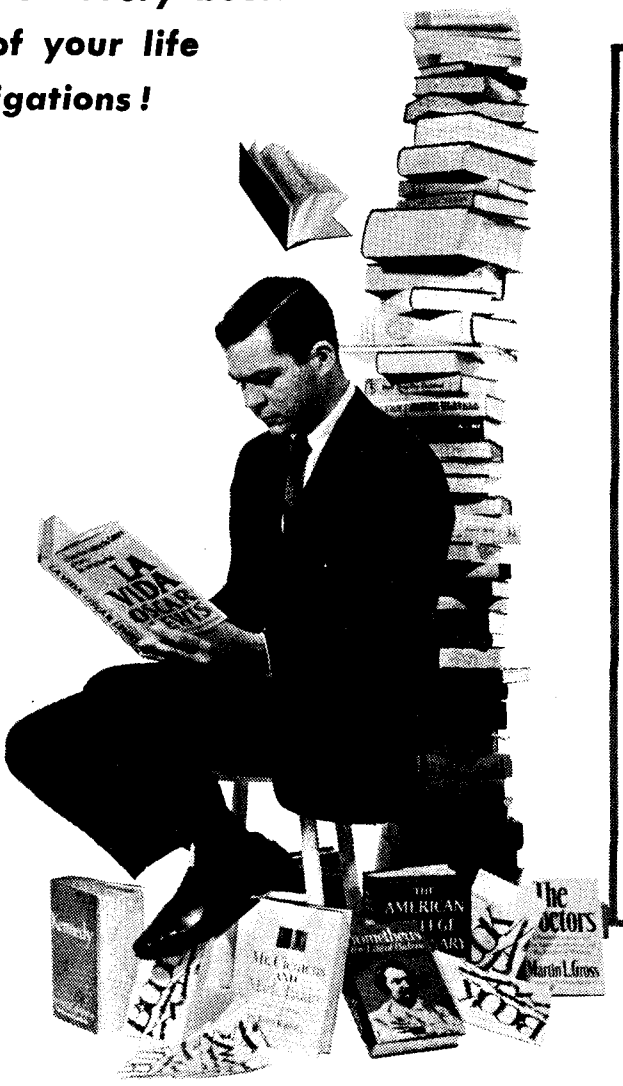

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